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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

JOHN BUNYAN AND THE ALLEGORIC MODE

by

GERALD MICHAEL WANDIO

A THESIS

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Abstract

Each of John Bunyan's three great allegories is based upon a different metaphor. In The Pilgrim's Progress the journey of a man named Christian from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City represents the progress of an elect soul to glory. In The Holy War, psychomachia, the warfare of the soul, is the device used to dramatize the struggles of a town called Mansoul. And in The Life and Death of Mr. Badman the story of an archetypal reprobate is used as an exemplum to illustrate "the steps that take hold of hell."

The discussion of The Pilgrim's Progress will centre on certain cruxes in Bunyan's allegorical technique, aspects of the author's method that have the greatest effect on the allegory. The Holy War will be examined for a polysemous, or fourfold, allegory. And in Badman we will find that Bunyan's command of the dialogue-form and of the exemplum allows him to combine these two techniques into a marvelous study not only of reprobation but of human social behaviour.

Allegory, we shall conclude, is a form eminently suited both to Bunyan's talents (informed as they were by his allegorical interpretations of Scripture) and to the meaning he wished to convey. His major allegories, intended mainly as pious didactic works, are imbued as well with love and understanding of mankind and its universal quest for lasting values.

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Introduction

In Il Penseroso, Milton speaks of great Bards who sing "sage and solemn tunes . . . Where more is meant than meets the ear."[1] This notion of allegory is one of which John Bunyan would approve. In his poetical preface to The Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan, amassing evidence and precedents for the propriety of his use of metaphors in the discussion of things sacred, refers to portions of "Holy Writ," or Scripture, "where the cases / Doth call for one thing to set forth another."[2] M.H.Abrams's definition of the allegoric mode is congruous both with Milton's and Bunyan's, and it is with his definition that we shall begin this study:

> An allegory is a narrative in which the agents and action, and sometimes the setting as well, are contrived both to make coherent sense on the "literal," or primary level of signification, and also to signify a second, correlated order of agents, concepts, and events.[3]

Here Abrams makes explicit that which was implicit in the other formulations by stressing that not only does one thing set forth another, not only is there another meaning beneath the surface, but that each level must have a cogent existence of its own.

In other words, an allegory, in order to signify a level of meaning that will indeed be meaningful, should begin with a literal level that is consistent and sensible. As Dante points out, the literal meaning is always the foundation for any others that may appear in a text, "it being the meaning in which the others are contained and without which it would be impossible and irrational

to come to an understanding of the others."[4]

And the second layer of signification, the allegorical layer, must be answerable to the plan of the first. That is, we must expect that an allegory's secondary level will not only be consistent of itself, not only have a logical form, but also that this form will be in the proper relationship to that of the literal level. If the allegorical level appears as nothing more than a random collection of possibly significant symbols, figures, or types, the work cannot succeed as an allegory.

Most important, then, is the correspondence between the two levels of meaning. The nature of allegory demands that there be a running internal commentary, properly an implicit one, throughout a work, that will keep the secondary level always in the reader's mind. The difficulty lies in maintaining two isolated, yet closely correlated, individually consistent levels of signification. This study will show that John Bunyan, whom far too many critics consider but an unlearned, if preternaturally gifted, "mechanick preacher," was in fact an artist who demonstrated great skill in his exercise of the difficult mode of allegory.

In 1678 Bunyan published The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That which is to Come. It is probably unnecessary to discuss the book's impressive publishing history or the influence it has exerted on authors and critics (notably Hawthorne, Coleridge, and George Bernard Shaw) since its appearance slightly over three hundred years ago. Our concern will be with the book's universal reputation as an "admirable allegory."[5] We shall consider four aspects of Bunyan's technique both in Part I and Part II (which was published in 1684, and which, while it uses the same basic

metaphor as the first part, is in a way very different). Bunyan's dream-vision framework, his significant naming of characters, his use of marginal notes, and the collisions that occasionally occur between the primary and secondary levels of meaning in the book will form the basis of our discussion of the Progress. We shall see that in this work Bunyan has written a fine story which is but a hair's breadth from being perfectly consistent, and has managed as well to indicate a figurative level which is, generally speaking, highly satisfying even to the reader who does not share the author's theology.

Bunyan's major work of 1682 was The Holy War Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World. This book is long, enormously complex, and impressively organized. Unfortunately, it occasionally becomes tedious for these very reasons. Yet it is unarguably one of Bunyan's great works, mainly because of his ambitious attempt to create this allegory polysemous. That it is only sporadically so is due more to the relatively diverse nature of his four intended levels of meaning than to any lack of ability on the author's part. And the most important allegorical level, the psychological one, we will see to be in the main consistent and satisfying. Our discussion of this book will concentrate upon the extent to which each of the four levels of significance aids in our understanding of the allegory, and we will glance as well at the efficacy of this book's warfare metaphor as compared with the journey metaphor of The Pilgrim's Progress.

After considering these two works dealing with the irresistible puissance of prevenient grace, we will finally turn to a book whose subject is diametrically opposite, The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, Presented to the World in A Familiar Dialogue Between Mr. Wiseman

and Mr. Attentive, published in 1680. The subject of this book is a reprobate named Mr. Badman, one of those unfortunates whose name does not appear in the Book of Life. Bad as can be, worse even than Milton's Satan (who can at least mourn his estrangement from divine felicity), Badman can simply do no right. Roger Sharrock calls Badman a "pseudo-allegory . . . which is in spite of its allegorical naming an unconscious stumble into the realistic novel of social life."[6] I disagree, and prefer to consider the book a near-perfect example of that notable sub-class of allegory, the exemplum. By concentrating upon Bunyan's unique management of his exemplary figure, and upon his masterly manipulation of the narrators and their dialogue, we will be able to solve many of the "problems" that critics have perceived in the book, and will recognize that Bunyan in Badman is clearly in complete control of his considerable artistic powers, and of the reader's emotions.

The Pilgrim's Progress is the only one of these three works that is still widely known. But Bunyan's command of allegory did not stop with the journey metaphor. In his preface to the Progress, Bunyan expresses his desire to "Seek the advance of Truth, this or that way" (5). The methods of allegory employed in The Holy War and Badman represent two more of these "ways," and if we seek with Bunyan the advance of truth, it is only meet that we explore with him these various ways.

Chapter I:

Allegorical Cruxes in The Pilgrim's Progress

In the "Author's Apology" which prefaces The Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan makes quite clear both his aim in writing the book, and his awareness of the difficulties he will encounter in his use of the allegoric mode. Beginning his defence of the proper use of allegory, he poses two rhetorical questions:

> May I not write in such a stile as this?
> In such a method too, and yet not miss
> Mine end, thy good? (2)

Already we can see that Bunyan is hazarding all for what he considers our good. His entire defence is not of his book as a work of literature--as Edwin Honig notes, "Bunyan's apology for using allegory in The Pilgrim's Progress shows more doctrinal zeal than literary caution"[1]--but as a volume of instruction which will promote "Nothing but sound and honest Gospel-strains" (7).

Given such a declaration by the author, we must obviously proceed with an examination of this work in a manner slightly different from that in which we would consider, say, a novel by Dickens or Woolf. This is not to say that Bunyan is exempt from normal literary criticism because of his lofty intentions: far from it. However, it would be foolish to do as others use, and attack Bunyan savagely for his purported lack of what is unprofitably called "artistic self-consciousness." The fact is that Bunyan considered all literature that did not aid the reader in his search for God and salvation superfluous and even dangerous. It is inconceivable, then, that he would sit down to write an adventure every page, every line of

which was not saturated with that which would tend toward the reader's good.

It is for this reason that The Pilgrim's Progress was created an allegory; and because an allegory must possess a literal level, or story, upon which the intended significance will depend, Bunyan found himself writing a tale which, on its surface, comes dangerously close to being only a romantic adventure (an accusation before which the author would recoil). That he managed to write a tale in which millions of readers over three centuries would delight, and that the book, despite its author's professed didactic leanings, does in fact bear up very well under literary criticism much of which completely ignores the work's theological import, is a sure triumph.

It is the quality of Bunyan's allegory, and the commmand he exercises over it, which will concern us here. Although the stories of Christian and later Christiana, the terrified emigrants who turn pilgrims, are indeed exciting, engaging, at times inspiring; although the underlying theological framework is consistent and marvelously uncompromising; although the two levels, through most of the work, mesh in a satisfying manner; still we must give an account of the many apparent incongruities in the allegory.

It will be our task here to examine what seem to be the four main sources of disruption in the text-- Bunyan's dream-vision framework, a fine device which, in Part I, succeeds, and, in Part II, may puzzle us with its apparently uncertain nature; the character names and place names, every one of which denotes some quality of the person or thing named, and thus imposes certain absolute interpretations on the reader from the outset; the myriad marginal notes, of which there are three basic types which can perform five functions, and

which ground Bunyan's dream-vision firmly in the didactic; and, finally, disruptions in the action itself, episodes where story and metaphor clash, overlap, or become one, and thus unexpectedly unite the literal and allegorical levels--and to try to discover Bunyan's reasons for each of them, for it is undeniable that the book as a whole is a great success, and essentially unharmed by these apparent disruptions.

In the well-known first paragraph of Part I, Bunyan falls asleep and dreams a dream of amazing duration and coherence. The first question that should be asked is whether by casting his work in the shape of a dream Bunyan hoped to forestall complaints about inconsistencies or disruptions in the tale. Were this the case, further criticism would be pointless, for in a dream, obviously, anything can happen. But it would be unprofitable to adopt this uncritical, dangerously modern attitude. Bunyan calls our attention on the title-page to the artificiality of his device: the story is to be "Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream." And in his "Apology" he asks the reader, "Would'st thou be in a Dream, and yet not sleep?" (7). Bunyan's awareness of, and his willingness to call our attention to, the feigned nature of his dream-vision must encourage us to see it basically as a distancing narrative device. We dare not put too much emphasis on the dream as a dream, when it is, on one hand, Bunyan's way of getting around the obvious problem of the author's identity and his relationship to the story and characters, and, on the other, his acknowledgement of his acquaintance with the dream-vision tradition, and his implicit appeal to biblical precedent.[2]

If we agree, however, to examine the dream mainly in its capacity as a narrative device, the author must be held accountable for the integrity of the device and its interaction with the allegory. In Part I Bunyan does not do badly, although we must note several seeming disruptions in the story created by uncertain handling of the dream and the dreaming persona. Most obvious is the unclear point of view from which the dreamer describes the events taking place. Even in the first few pages the dreamer moves from straight descriptions of what he can see and hear, to expositions of characters' thoughts, and back to plain sensory descriptions. Throughout the book Bunyan's way of reminding his readers of the dream-vision's presence is to begin the occasional paragraph with "Now [or "then," or "so"] I saw in my Dream," after which reminder he generally returns to straight third-person narration, or to dialogue; more than once, however, he slips into omniscient narration or momentarily intrudes in the story, himself becoming a character for a short time.

The most surprising (because the first) example of the dreamer's assumption of a voice in the action is his interrogation of Help, Christian's rescuer at the Slough of Dispond. After observing the opportune intervention of this significantly-named fellow, the dreamer craves enlightenment:

> Then I stepped to him that pluckt him out, and said; Sir, Wherefore . . . is it, that <u>this</u> Plat is not mended (15).

With his first three words the dreamer places himself both temporally and spatially in the action of the story. Hitherto we have imagined him in the position of any dreamer who is not himself the main character of the dream: outside the action, an observer unable to interfere

with the events taking place. But when he tells us that he "stepped to him", we must draw back and imagine Christian toddling off unobserved while the dreamer's question is answered. Interestingly enough, Bunyan apparently feels that this intrusion needs no apology. Once Help's explanation is finished, the dreamer blithely returns to the business at hand with his semiotic "Now I saw in my Dream . . ." If we were to attempt to explain Bunyan's reason for allowing the dreamer to step into the action, probably the best we could do would be to suggest that his own acceptance--the acceptance by someone removed from the events of the dream--of the reality of the Slough of Dispond helps convey this allegorical reality to the reader, who is also at a remove from the action.

Another sort of disturbance in the ethereal barrier separating dreamer from dream occurs during the description of Christian's supper at the House Beautiful (52). The three young ladies delight the weary pilgrim with pleasant discourse as he sups, and the dreamer himself appears to experience a mild epiphany. So moved is he that he cannot help interjecting: " . . . and by what they said, I perceived that he had been a <u>great</u> <u>Warriour</u> . . . which made me love him the more."

This interjection is unexpected enough, emphasizing as it does the dreamer's interpretive rather than his more important narrative self. And it is interesting that in the next paragraph this interpretive self disappears as quickly as it appeared, in favour once more of our hero: "For, as they said, and as I believe, (said <u>Christian</u>) he did it with the loss of much blood." Having been pulled away from the table by the dreamer's voice, we first assume that the next sentence, spoken in the first person as well, belongs to the same speaker. The parenthetical "said <u>Christian</u>", which we cannot

but consider an afterthought inserted by Bunyan when he realized the danger of letting his persona become too involved in the action, seems to be no more than an attempt to deliver us from the realm of the dreamer's perceptions back to that of Christian's. It remains curious, however, that the first outburst was not attributed to the pilgrim, for the words spoken by the dreamer could have been given to Christian with no diminution of their zealous quality. Bunyan apparently did not consider the intrusion worth explaining. One possible benefit the reader may derive from this intrusion is one similar to that posited in the last episode: the dreamer's own ardour and enthusiasm is here again communicated to some degree to us, through our recognition of the dreamer's obtrusive exclamation.

Three-quarters of the way through the book comes Bunyan's best-known intrusion, as the dreamer awakes. Traditionally this awakening is ascribed to Bunyan's release from prison. However, this interpretation not only answers no questions, but raises one. Immediately after Christian and Hopeful bid farewell to the Shepherds (123), Bunyan says:

> So I awoke from my Dream.
> And I slept, and Dreamed again, and saw
> the same two Pilgrims going down the Mountains
> along the High-way towards the City.

If Bunyan really wanted us to know that it was at this point in the writing of the story that he was released from prison, he would surely have mentioned his departure from the "Denn" (which is by a marginal note explicitly identified as "The Gaol" [8]) before sleeping and dreaming once more. At any rate, such speculation about the author's imprisonment or release from prison is unprofitable and unnecessary. By having his dreamer awake and sleep again at

this point, Bunyan both reminds us of his dream-vision--a necessary reminder at this time, for he has in the last few pages exhibited perhaps too great a knowledge of what the pilgrims "thought" and "desire[d]" (122-23)--and gives us a new perspective. When we return to the dream, we return to the evocative sight of the two pilgrims making their way down the Mountain, refreshed after their rest. J.F. Forrest suggests that "the gap in the vision communicates an impression of time-lapse," and in fact advances the action;[3] and the reader, having been drawn away from and brought back to the dream, should feel that this new perspective has something new to offer. This is an intentional intrusion, and its clever effect is a calculated one.

The final insinuation of the dreamer into his dream occurs near the end of the book (155-56). The pilgrims have gained the "Country of Beulah," which borders on the Celestial City, and, having eaten of the "Dainties" of the King's vineyards, they sleep.

> Now I beheld in my Dream, that they talked more in their sleep at this time, then ever they did in all their Journey; and being in a muse there-about, the Gardiner said even to me, Wherefore musest thou at the matter?

Speaking literally, it is perhaps unfair to accuse the dreamer of interfering, when it is in fact the gardener who seems anxious to end the dreamer's musing. The point, however, is that here the dreamer becomes a character just as he did in the Slough of Dispond episode, and this momentary injection of narrator into narration (which, from Bunyan's assurance that the gardener spoke "even to me" [my emphasis], is clearly intentional), seems as curious here as it did on the earlier occasion.

Of the four intrusions of which we have spoken, then, only the third is immediately recognizable as a useful distancing device, and the second as an explicit proof of Bunyan's own religious zeal, which he could not help communicating. The first and last very similar intrusions cannot be accounted mistakes or oversights, for they are obviously planned. Perhaps the best way to explain them is to emphasize Bunyan's overwhelming didactic intention. While to say with Sharrock that "Bunyan is always ready to kill his fiction stone dead if an improving lesson may be rammed home at its expense"[4] is to go too far, it is probably equitable to suggest that, since Bunyan was anxious that his readers would become too "extream, / In playing with the out-side of [his] Dream" (164), he would not mind that the little forays of his dreamer into the dream take us aback. As was mentioned earlier, he is only too willing to acknowledge the nature of his fictions.

If we are willing so easily to dismiss the problems with Part I's dream-vision, Part II may nonetheless give us pause, for here it is indeed difficult to comprehend Bunyan's seeming awkwardness in his handling of the convention. As a sequel, Part II clearly depends heavily on Part I, as much for the dream-framework as for the journey metaphor. The dream here is awkwardly begun, abandoned, and half-heartedly taken up again, only to disappear by the ending. Although Forrest puts up a good case for Bunyan's artistic self-awareness, and claims that this awareness is demonstrated by his "exaggerated concern with the form of the work",[5] Bunyan's clumsiness here seems to me to belie such a favourable conclusion.

The mental gymnastics necessary to any degree of acceptance of the introduction of the dream in the second part are difficult

to perform. After a surprisingly formal address to his readers ("Courteous Companions"), Bunyan reminds us of Christian's wife and children, "and how unwilling they were to go with him on Pilgrimage" (174). Then he begins his venture into obscurity:

> Now it hath so happened . . . that I have been much hindred, and kept back from my wonted Travels into those parts whence he went . . . But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward.

In the first part, we were given to understand that Bunyan was walking through the "wilderness of this world" when he slept and dreamed, and that his travels into Christian's world were only in that dream. And this indeed is sensible, for the location of the dreamer should have no bearing upon the country of the dream. Now, however, Bunyan would have us believe that he is "wont" to wander through the area around the City of Destruction itself ("whence he came"), and that he could not dream of events in that world unless he was actually, physically there. To this end he takes up "Lodgings in a Wood about a mile off the Place," and dreams again:

> And as I was in my Dream, behold, an aged Gentleman came by where I lay; and because he was to go some part of the way that I was travelling, me thought I got up and went with him.

To attempt an exposition of this single sentence is to risk distraction. We can if we wish simplify and expand parts of the sentence so as to make it conform to common logic. Obviously Bunyan means that he saw, in his dream, an old fellow come by, and, since he meant to travel (again, in his dream) in the same direction as this worthy, they went off together. This is probably what Bunyan

means; it is not clearly what he says. Did he dream that he was lying on the ground ("an aged Gentleman came by where I lay"), or did he dream he was walking already ("he was to go some part of the way that I was travelling")? We know that they walk away in the dream, because of the "me thought"; but what need, then, if Bunyan is dreaming as he did in the first part, for Mr. Sagacity? Bunyan seems uncertain of his approach, and, unfortunately, he gives us no clue as to why, after opting almost exclusively for omniscient narration half-way through the book, he did not return to, and remove, Mr. Sagacity.

But we should perhaps glance at Bunyan's attempt at a dialogue between the dreamer and Mr. Sagacity before we discuss the latter's sudden removal. Bunyan goes to some lengths to set up Sagacity as a reliable narrator. It would seem that he had initially planned to have this aged persona tell the whole tale himself. Sagacity assures the dreamer that he knows whereof he speaks, and does so with almost hyperbolic intensity:

> Sag. 'Tis true, I can give you an account of the matter, for I was upon the spot at the instant, and was throughly acquainted with the whole affair. Then, said I, a man it seems may report it for a truth? Sag. You need not fear to affirm it (177).

To put this degree of emphasis upon the reliability of the narrator seems almost unnecessary, considering our knowledge (urged upon us in this second part by the author) of the artificiality of the entire narrative structure. And all too soon Bunyan himself seems to tire of using two nominally interacting characters as narrators, and decides to abandon Sagacity altogether. The manner in which he does this is unfortunate.

Mr. Sagacity tells the dreamer the tale of Christiana, Mercie, and the children up to their safe passage through the Slough of Dispond. Mercie and Christiana speak for a moment of the troubles ahead of them, and then Bunyan interrupts:

> And now Mr. Sagacity left me to dream out my Dream by my self. Wherefore me-thought I saw Christiana, and Mercie and the Boys go all of them up to the Gate (188).

This is extremely awkward. Bunyan has emphasized Mr. Sagacity's role as a reliable narrator, one whose omniscience precludes the "friend of the family" status that we are at first tempted to assign to him. Now Bunyan turns around and tells us that he is left to dream out his dream alone. Unfortunately, as far as we know, all he has seen in his dream is Mr. Sagacity (not Christiana or her train). Now, being abandoned, he suddenly dreams of the events immediately subsequent to those narrated by Sagacity. Bunyan must have seen the awkwardness of this transition; why he did not go back and remove Mr. Sagacity completely is a mystery. Forrest thinks that "Bunyan casts aside Sagacity, not simply because he tires of him, but because he no longer has need of him",[6] but although we might like to believe that Bunyan was at all times aware of the repercussions of his artistic decisions, it is difficult to allow that the clumsiness of this transition "is actually born of high art".[7]

Perhaps the most obtrusive intrusion of the dreamer--or, in this case, Bunyan himself--occurs just as the pilgrims approach the Interpreter's house (197). Here the dreamer becomes Bunyan, clearly and unmistakably, and he seems both to be promoting his

earlier work and excusing his incompleteness in the present one:

> . . . they drew nigh to an House which stood in the way, which House was built for the relief of Pilgrims as you will find more fully related in the first part of these Records of the Pilgrims Progress.

Bunyan has abandoned all pretence of dreaming here. He is telling a story which is a sequel to an earlier one, and he is not afraid to admit it, either forgetting for the moment his dream, or, more likely, realizing that his readers now know quite well what he is doing and will not be put off by such a reminder.

Earlier, before his summary dismissal, Mr. Sagacity has said something similar. Speaking of Christian's famous journey, he assures the dreamer that

> all our Countrey rings of him, there are but few Houses that have heard of him and his doings, but have sought after and got the Records of his Pilgrimage (175),

but, as this does not refer specifically to the title of the book, it does not disturb us so much. Perhaps in the dream-land of Christian and Christiana there was one who set down the details of Christian's troublesome journey, we may think when Mr. Sagacity speaks of these "Records"; but the dreamer's own reference to "these Records of the Pilgrim's Progress" cannot but shatter our illusions.

Another puzzling disruption of the dream-framework occurs at the end of the book, where Bunyan has so completely abandoned his dream that he cannot even be troubled to pretend to awake:

> . . . since I came away, I heard one say, that they [Christiana's sons and daughters-in-law] were yet alive . . .

> Shall it be my Lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an Account of what I here am silent about; mean time I bid my Reader Adieu (311).

First, we notice that Bunyan professes knowledge of things that have happened since, or outside, his dream. He has made similar references through both parts, using such phrases as:

> I have learnt since, that Pagan has been dead many a day (65);
>
> [By-ends] never was seen again in the way (108);
>
> [of Mercie's mirror] Yea I have talked with them that can tell . . . (287).

These are inconsistent enough with the dream-illusion, alerting the reader (as they must) to the presence of an omniscient author who is just playing at dreaming. But in the book's last paragraph, Bunyan does not even bother to conclude his dream. He speaks of going "that way again," echoing the confusion of the book's beginning, and seemingly leaving the way open for a third book (which was never to be written).

There are other minor inconsistencies in the dream-vision that may just be worth mentioning here. In a few places Bunyan seems to abandon dream for narration ("And thus much concerning Pliable" [16]; "The Prophet Jeremiah thus describes it" [61]; "But to return again to our story" [264]); occasionally he indulges in explicit moralizing in the text rather than leaving it as usual for the marginal notes ("Then I thought that it is easier going out of the way when we are in, then going in, when we are out" [113]; "Then thought I with my self, who, that goeth on Pilgrimage, but would have one of these Maps ["God's Book"] about him" [297]); and sometimes he

places himself in the landscape of the dream ("I looked then after Christian" [42]). We soon become accustomed to such minor disruptions, for they are not so striking as are the major ones noted earlier.

Were we then to attempt an overall evaluation of Bunyan's dream-vision framework in The Pilgrim's Progress, we would have to judge Part I successful and Part II flawed. Despite several disruptions, in Part I Bunyan is quite careful to maintain the overall, effective illusion of the dream; in Part II, despite the occasional mention of the dream, Bunyan puts himself to very little trouble to perpetuate the believability of the device that worked so well in the earlier book. His success seems simply to have depended upon the amount of work he was willing to put into the consistency of his device; his apparent uncertainty in Part II impairs the quality of the dream.

The next subject to be examined is the sticky one of allegorical naming. First of all, it must be observed that to name characters and places after personality traits or types of virtues and vices tends to limit the reader's interpretive freedom. A good allegory is generally one where every event on the literal level only suggests a corresponding figurative meaning. Here Bunyan incorporates aspects of the meaning into the story in a manner less than subtle. Much of the work of interpreting Bunyan's message is obviated by the inclusion of characters with names like Hypocrisy, Vain-confidence, Sloth, or Atheist. Before they open their mouths we know their status relative to that of Christian and his King; the only question that remains is how they will meet their end (which we cannot but believe to be well-deserved). We cannot judge Bunyan naïve for so naming his characters and places, however, and assume that he did so because he was simply unaware of the effect of such explicit

denomination in his allegory. Rather we may be sure that he knew he was eliminating a good deal of suspense, and himself performing much of the interpretation usually left to the reader; as we will see in the next section of this chapter, what he leaves uninterpreted in the text he often finishes off in his marginal notes.

There are specific difficulties created by the various names Bunyan gives his characters. The most wide-ranging problem concerns the meaning of the names for the dreamer and for the other characters. We will notice from the outset of Part I that the dreamer always knows the names of all characters and places as soon as they are encountered. Nor does the dreamer deem it necessary to explain how he knows these names--they are simply mentioned as fact: "I looked then, and saw a man named Evangelist coming" (9); "The name of the one was Obstinate, and the name of the other Pliable" (10); "The name of the Slow was Dispond" (14), et cetera. The dreamer's intuitive knowledge of these names gives both him and the reader a distinct advantage over Christian; at the same time, our prescience hinders our identification with Christian and his trials, for we recognize and anticipate dangers of which he must seem to us foolishly unaware.

For all of the dreamer's foreknowledge, he seldom takes it upon himself to expound the significance of names. However, our very recognition that the characters espouse their nominal virtues and vices may make us question Bunyan's purpose in letting the dreamer always mention these names even before Christian encounters their possessors. In Part I the characters representing good qualities (Christian, Hopeful, Faithful) make little of the names of those who represent bad qualities. True, the name of the City of Destruction

has meaning for Christian, for he knows it will soon fall in flames; and Mr. By-ends is condemned for what he calls his "Nick-name that is given me by some that cannot abide me" (100); and Christian censures Ignorance for his character: "Ignorance is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou" (148); but on the whole the names given the characters seem designed to have meaning mainly for the reader. Even during the traumatic passage through the River of Death (157-58), when Christian attempts to objectify his companion's name--"you have been Hopeful ever since I knew you"--the rejoinder from Hopeful is "and so have you." Bunyan's message here is not, as so many critics insist, that Hopeful (like Faithful before him) is just an aspect of Christian. To say this is unprofitable. Bunyan is capable of portraying Christian's own hope and faith without externalizing them in the form of companions. Christian is provided with these very real, individual comrades mainly that he may better himself with frequent theological discussions: let us not forget the essentially didactic purpose of the book. As well, Bunyan wants us to see that, just as Hopeful is a Christian, so Christian must have hope, as well as faith. It may seem that the author is here undercutting his own allegorical naming, but he actually means only to expand the value of the names, to demonstrate that each character has more than one virtue--as must every true Christian.

In Part II there is one character who truly knows the value of names, and that is old Honest ("Not Honesty in the Abstract, but Honest" [247]). His careful distinction between the abstract quality and his name shows his punctiliousness. When he says "I wish that my Nature shall agree to what I am called," we are alerted to Bunyan's own awareness of this character's uniqueness and potential.

His insistence on being taken as a real person (with a sensitivity for names) informs his later perceptivity.

In fact, Honest seems to be an interpretive accomplice of Bunyan's. When he is introduced to Christiana's children and Mercie, he discriminates quite clearly between their two types of names. The boys are all named after biblical exemplars, and he exhorts them to imitate their namesakes: "Samuel, said he, be thou like Samuel the Prophet . . . James, be thou like James the Just" (248). This is not quite the same as his wish that his nature may agree with his name, for there is an extra step necessary with the boys. Honest = honest, but James = another man named James, who was characterized by his justness. However, his exhortations reveal his awareness of the names' significance.

Mercie is another matter. Upon hearing her name,

> the old Honest man said, Mercie, is thy Name? by Mercie shalt thou be sustained, and carried thorough all those Difficulties that shall assault thee in thy way; till thou come thither where thou shalt look the Fountain of Mercie in the Face with Comfort.

He first identifies her with the quality for which she is named, and predicts that this quality will sustain her; he then expands and changes the sense of the word, and implicitly assures her that Christ (the "Fountain of Mercie") is a grand exemplar of her most personal virtue. This ability to glean meanings from names, an ability the other pilgrims do not seem to possess, is to be a valuable asset to them. (Bunyan's only slip in the delineation of the uncommonly perceptive Honest is having the sensitive old fellow, during a discussion of Christian's pilgrimage, obtusely ask "By-ends; what was he?" (272). Even Christian was able immediately to recognize and judge this man by his name).

Honest in this last case is uncertain of the significance of a name (and that his uncertainty is not simply about By-ends' identity is demonstrated by his question, "what [rather than "who"] was he?"). There are a few instances where it is the dreamer and the reader who are thrown into confusion by the author's choice of names. Probably the most disturbing inconsistency for one familiar with Bunyan's theology and its emphasis upon election (the conferment of Divine Grace upon those God has selected even before Creation) and reprobation (God's passing by of the unlucky remainder of humanity) is Christian's name and his professed previous name.

For the first three-and-a-half pages of the book Christian is not given that name. He is called only "The Man." Then he is identified by the dreamer: "Yes, said Christian, (for that was his name)" (11). This name is given him only after his encounter with Evangelist--after he is given his first directions--that is, after his particular calling, or vocation. And as such it does no harm to the concept of election. However, there seems to be a problem with Christian's proclaimed earlier name. When he reaches the House Beautiful, and the Porter asks his name, he says "My name is, now, Christian; but my name at the first was Graceless" (46). In terms of Bunyan's theology, this is unacceptable. The idea of election demands prevenient grace, grace that goes before and sustains the elect soul, "preceding repentance and predisposing the heart to seek God."[8] If Christian is elect, then, at no time in his life could he have been graceless. This inconsistency, along with a few others to be discussed in the last section of this chapter, raises doubts about the exclusiveness of the theology underlying The Pilgrim's Progress.

There are other less serious instances where Bunyan seems to have difficulty conveying exactly the right tone with a name. The Village of Morality we know to be a place to be avoided, but only because the obviously ill-intentioned Mr. Worldly-Wiseman recommends it. Surely Bunyan would not have us equate Morality with Destruction, Vanity, Conceit, or Stupidity, all of which are also place-names. It is dependence upon the Law alone at the expense of faith that he wishes to decry; his use of such absolute names does not expedite this fine distinction.[9]

On the subject of names, we should note as well that only the bad characters are condemned for their city or country of origin. No reproach attaches to Christian because he comes from Destruction, nor to Hopeful whose home-town is Vanity Fair, nor even to old Honest, who comes from Stupidity. But we may be sure that the evil characters are to be vilified as much for their origins as for their wrong thinking and actions. Consider Worldly-Wiseman, from "the Town of Carnal-Policy" (17); Formalist and Hypocrisie, from "the Land of Vain-glory" (39); Talkative, from a street in Destruction called "Prating-row" (77); By-ends, from "Fair-speech" (99); Ignorance, from Conceit (123); and "Turn-away that dwelt in the Town of Apostasy" (125). Bunyan was careful to give these reprobates vile origins, and ones that conform to their own characters. His message must surely be that good men may transcend foul beginnings, while bad men will never lose the stench of their original conditions.

Two names with which Bunyan makes sport are Shame and Mercie. And, although his playfulness does not quite suit the gravity of the work as a whole, it is both delightful and instructive: instructive because, especially in the case of Shame, we can see that Bunyan

is encouraging us to be alive to all the implications of a name, to respond to its myriad possibilities.

Just after Christian catches up with Faithful, the latter relates the tale of his passage through the Valley of Humiliation (72-74). There, he says,

> I met with Shame, But of all the Men that I met with in my Pilgrimage, he, I think, bears the wrong name.

Faithful feels this villain to be wrongly named because he is, in a word, shameless, as appears in the account of his speech and actions. Why, then, did Bunyan not name him, as he did Talkative and By-ends, for his main quality? Perhaps because, by giving him the name of Shame, he can have Faithful say

> Yea, he put me so to it, that my blood came up in my face, even this Shame fetch'd it up, and had almost beat me quite off.

In other words, Shame creates shame in those who listen to his shameless (and shameful) rhetoric ("it was a shame to sit whining and mourning under a Sermon, and a shame to come sighing and groaning home . . . is not this, said he, a shame?") As Christian says,

> . . . I think he has the wrong name: for he is so bold as to follow us in the Streets, and to attempt to put us to shame before all men; that is, to make us ashamed of that which is good . . .

In this long and playful discussion, Bunyan calls our attention to just what shame is, and why it must be avoided, and, most importantly, to the relevance of names. Take nothing for granted, he implicitly warns.

Mercie's name has a different effect upon the allegorical illusion. She is immediately obtrusive amongst the other women of the neighbourhood, Mrs. Timorous, Mrs. Bats-eyes, Mrs. Inconsiderate, Mrs. Light-mind, and Mrs. Know-nothing. Christiana's name is not so much of a give-away, for Sagacity tells us that "that was her name from the day that she with her Children betook themselves to a Pilgrims Life" (177); we must consider a mere slip of Bunyan's mind her neighbours' knowledge and familiar use of this as yet unbestowed name. But one named Mercie among this sorry lot is obviously destined for better things.

Christiana is Bunyan's vehicle for the first instance of the confusion of Mercie's name with the abstract quality. As the two set out from Destruction, Christiana guarantees Mercie's certain acceptance at the Gate: "The King, who hath sent for me and my Children, is one that delighteth in Mercie" (185). On the literal level, this is no guarantee at all, and, had Mercie's name been not Mercie, but, say, Louise, Christiana's assurance would be impossible. But Bunyan has seen fit closely to identify Mercie's name with the quality of mercy. In this case, the result is a surprising encroachment of the message upon the medium.

At the House Beautiful Bunyan indulges in more word-play based upon Mercie's name (227-28). The lass has just repulsed the advances of one Mr. Brisk, and Prudence makes the distinction between name and quality:

> Mercie in our days is little set by, any further then as to its Name: the Practice, which is set forth by thy Conditions, there are but few that can abide.
> Mercie. Well, said Mercie, if no body will have me, I will dye a Maid, or my Conditions shall be to me as a Husband. For I cannot change my Nature . . .

In this little exchange both Prudence and Mercie herself explicitly identify the girl with the quality denoted by her name. Mr. Brisk, and, by implication, most citizens of the world, are pleased enough by mercy's name and appearance, but the practice of it is something different. And our Mercie can never change, for her name, as she clearly says, is also her "Nature."

It is instructive to contrast Mercie with old Honest. Their names are quite different, hers a noun and his an adjective. Mercie is the embodiment of her nominal quality. Her every action bespeaks mercy in the abstract[10]--it is her nature. Honest, on the other hand, is an honest man who possesses plain honesty, as he makes clear as he crosses the River of Death, saying "As for my Honesty, it shall go with me" (309). Obviously he is not removing from the world the quality of honesty, only his own honesty. Mercie's death, it would seem, will be a greater loss to the world of the pilgrims. The Mercie in which "The King . . . delighteth" will then be returned to Him, leaving that quality unrepresented in the pilgrims' world.

Before summing up, it is probably just worthwhile to glance at Bunyan's use of the word "gentleman" in Parts I and II. In Part I it is used, with only one exception, as a term of reproach.[11] Worldly-Wiseman, especially, is condemned by the use of this word: five times it is applied to him by Christian, Evangelist, and the dreamer. Best of all is Christian's shame-faced defence of himself to Evangelist, after he has been caught out of the way:

> Chr. He looked like a Gentleman, and talked much to me . . .
> Evan. What said that Gentleman to you? (21)

One can imagine the word being spat out with contempt. Also damned

by the word are Mr. Legality, Mr. Civility, Formalist and Hypocrisie, all the corrupt jurors, witnesses, and observers in the courtroom at Faithful's trial in Vanity Fair, By-ends (who calls himself a "Gentleman of good Quality" [99]) and his three friends, and Demas, whom the dreamer calls "Gentleman-like" (106). So frequent and slanted are the uses of this word that Bunyan's satiric intention, and his delight in emphasizing the deceptive nature of such a designation, is quite obvious. These reprobates, their titles notwithstanding, are no gentlemen.

But eight years later, in Part II, Bunyan has apparently lost his rancour towards gentlemen, for the term no longer functions as an automatic denunciation, and is often used as we would use it, to convey respect. Sagacity is "an aged Gentleman" (174), Honest an "old Gentleman" (246, 247, 248, passim), and Great-heart and the rest of the male contingent "Gentlemen" (259). Madame Bubble is the only exception to the respectful use of this title. She is called a "Gentlewoman" (301), and in such a tone that Bunyan's echo of his bias against the gentry in Part I is unmistakable.

There are, to be sure, other, but very minor, questions about Bunyan's allegorical naming in The Pilgrim's Progress. It remains now only to consider just what effect this sort of naming has on the allegory. To begin with, and as was mentioned above, to name places and characters after virtues and vices is explicitly to incorporate into the literal level components of the allegoric meaning. If one believes with Poe that allegory can be so designated only when

> the suggested meaning runs through the obvious one in a very profound undercurrent, so as never to interfere with the upper one without our volition, so as never to show itself

unless called to the surface,[12]

then Bunyan is not doing well in making explicit his meaning in the very names he uses. Fortunately, by developing in his characters traits other than those suggested by their names, and by introducing elements of uncertainty into discussions of some of the names (Shame, By-ends, Mercie), Bunyan manages to transcend the simple message that might seem to be contained in the names.

And whereas Bunyan's seeming confusion about the significance of some names may perplex us early in the book (do Formalist and Hypocrisie, for example, know that the paths they choose are called Danger and Destruction [42], or is that information reserved for the reader?), we soon understand and assume our proper position in relation to the text. We are omniscient observers, able to anticipate Christian's mistakes before their commission, and equally able to forgive him, for our information is so obviously better than his.

Finally, then, we must say that the way Bunyan chooses to name characters and places is much more useful than harmful, and that the allegory remains undamaged. Bunyan's purpose was to assist us in putting by his "Curtains" and looking within his "Vail" (164, l. 13); this he accomplished.

And if his practice of naming is an aid to interpretation, even more so are his marginal notes, at least one of which appears on virtually every page of the book. Bunyan, according to his preface to The Holy War, put great stock in his glosses, and considered these notes to be "keys" to his text.[13] Before we embark upon an examination of the various kinds and functions of these notes, however, it were best to decide just how we wish to regard the notes' relationship to the text itself.

The marginal notes are put in the margins, obviously, because Bunyan does not want them to interfere directly with the reader's experience of the story. They are intended as a running commentary written by an external observer and interpreter. The problem here, of course, is that the notes cannot but interfere with the text as the reader perceives it. We know that Bunyan uses notes to direct us to the crucial episodes, speeches, and symbols in the story, and it is difficult for the reader to keep separate two discrete lines of commentary: the one provided more or less implicitly by Bunyan's dreaming persona, and the sententious one that solicits our attention from the margins. Therefore, although it would be foolish to call the notes direct disruptions in the allegory, still we must acknowledge that they do at least incidentally distract any attentive reader from the illusion.

Bunyan employs marginal notes in several different ways. There are three basic kinds of notes. There are those that simply direct our attention to crucial events in the text; those which both direct our attention and, to a greater or lesser degree, mold our interpretation of the event being commented upon; and those that are simply references to Scripture. This last class, the Scriptural references, may be subdivided into three types. Most commonly, Bunyan will provide a reference for an obvious quotation (or near-quotation) from the Bible used by the dreamer or one of the characters. A second type is the reference that expands or comments upon the event to which it is keyed; this type is very effective. Finally, on a few occasions Bunyan seems to slip, and his Scriptural reference will either be irrelevant or even misleading. We will discuss several examples of each of these various types and sub-types.

The first, the most obvious, common, and frequently distracting type of note is the one that simply directs the reader's attention to some point in the text that Bunyan is anxious to emphasize. This type contains no interpretation or explanation, no helpful advice, no pious instruction: in fact it treats the reader like a dull child who needs repeatedly to be admonished to pay attention.

Sometimes these directive notes can be as short as one or two words, and serve more as an index than anything else. When Obstinate and Christian are first identified by name, the notes repeat their names (11); Simple, Sloth, and Presumption are indexed in this way as well, as are Mistrust and Timorous (43), the delectable mountains (119), Mrs. Know-nothing, Bats-eyes, Inconsiderate, and Light-mind (184-85), "Prudences Virginals" (233), and various other characters, places, and objects. These notes serve only to emphasize what is already stated in the text, and they are generally more distracting than helpful.

Other directive notes are slightly more useful, because of their consistency at least, as a quick-reference index to the text. Bunyan is careful to provide such notes for virtually every important event, emblem, or significant speech in both parts of the book. Examples of this type of note include "Talk between Christian, and Pliable" (12); "Christian Entred the Gate with Joy and trembling" (25) (which escapes the designation of interpretive note because the passage in the text to which it is keyed reads "Then, said Christian, I rejoyce and tremble"); "Christians victory over Apollyon" (59); "The Children are afraid of the dog" (192); "Groanings heard" (241); and so on. This type of note is common and relatively superfluous, for it tells us nothing we did not already know, and inevitably

distracts our attention from the story.

One final example of directive notes can be seen only in Part II. In both The Holy War and Badman Bunyan makes extensive use of marginal notes saying simply "Mark This." In Part II of the Progress, published after these two works, he occasionally inserts this imperative as an alternative to repeating key words from the text. The phrase can be seen on pages 190, 196, 217, 259, and twice on 268. Like the other directive notes, this type is useful only as an emphatic reminder of the allegory's meaning. The best that can be said for it, as for all of its kind, is that it reminds us to give full attention to the text. Bunyan, we feel, is watching us sternly.

The second type of non-Scriptural note is what I shall call the interpretive note. This type, in various ways, either subtly hints at or clearly states an interpretation of the events taking place in the story. Once again, there are several subdivisions of this class.

First and simplest is the note that explicitly identifies the allegorical significance of characters, events, places, or objects mentioned in the text. The very first note in Part I is a perfect example. As Bunyan "walk'd through the wilderness of this world," he lighted on "a certain place, where was a Denn"; the marginal note keyed to "Denn" reads simply "The Gaol" (8). This type of note is often invaluable. Other instances include the identification of the (apparently invisible) steps through the Slough of Dispond as "The Promises" (15), Worldly-Wiseman's high hill as "Mount Sinai" (20), the River as "Death" (156 & 182), and Ready-to-hault's crutches also as "Promises" (271). The River's significance we may have

been able to puzzle out unaided; that of the steps and crutches, Promises both, may have remained mysterious but for the helpful notes.

Another sort of interpretive note is more explicit, almost always quite helpful, and frequently not a little sardonic. This is the type which identifies the behaviour of the (as yet unnamed) Christian's family towards him as "Carnal Physick for a Sick Soul" (9); which comments on Pliable's lack of resolution with "It is not enough to be pliable" (14); and which removes any doubt about Bunyan's attitude toward the sophistry of Formalist and Hypocrisie with "They that come into the way, but not by the door, think that they can say something in vindication of their own Practice" (40). This last reads like a simple restatement; its tone marks it an interpretation, and the use of "they" universalizes the pair's ignorant presumptuousness.

Also notable are marvelous comments such as "He that sleeps is a loser" (42), the repeated "O brave Talkative" (77), "One temptation does make way for another" (111), "See what it is too suddenly to fall in with strangers" (1120, and (of Ignorance) "He saith to every one, that he is a fool" (124). These notes both aid us in understanding the precise significance of certain events in the text and, occasionally, delight us with Bunyan's subtle humour.

Finally, in Part II Bunyan twice incorporates into his exhortation to "Mark This" good advice. As Sagacity describes Christiana's repentance for her "unbecoming behaviour towards her Husband," Bunyan thunders "Mark this, you that are Churles to your godly Relations" (177); on the next page, our attention is drawn to Christiana's dream of the two "Ill-favoured ones" with "Mark this, this is the

quintescence of Hell." Here Bunyan appears in his best fire-and-brimstone pulpit manner, and the notes are so eloquently pious that we long for more.

All these sub-types of the interpretive note play an important part in the development of Bunyan's allegory. But we have yet to examine the most frequently-used form of notation, and that most impressive in its thoroughness.

Bunyan's knowledge of the Bible is astounding. There is virtually no major episode in the Progress that is not grounded in Scripture, no important point made that does not echo some biblical verse. And while the casual reader may be tempted to accuse Bunyan of simply showing off by filling his margins with Scriptural references, to go to the Bible and look each one up is to derive the fullest benefit from Bunyan's art. Indeed, to do so is essential.

It must of course be acknowledged that most of these references fall into my first sub-class. That is, they only refer one to the biblical verse whence Bunyan borrowed a word, phrase, sentence, or concept. Even this type of note is important, however, for by referring to the Scriptural passage in question the reader is often given a larger perspective on the action of the story.

An excellent instance can be found on page 17. Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, beginning his questioning of Christian, asks him if he has a family. The unfortunate pilgrim sadly replies:

> Yes, but I am so laden with this burden, that
> I cannot take that pleasure in them as formerly:
> methinks, I am as if I had none.

The marginal note to this mournful assertion refers us to I Corinthians 7: 29. If we read from 29 to 31, our understanding of Christian's

predicament is increased substantially, and, at the same time, the individual situation is universalized:

> But this I say, brethren, the time is short, it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none . . .
> And they that use this world, as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away.[14]

It is not merely Christian's burden of individual sin, we now see, that Bunyan is positing as the reason for his sorrow; the world itself is in a decline, and "the time is short." This reference, then, if pursued, leads to a more complete understanding of the Christian's (as opposed to just Christian's) predicament.

One other example of this type of note will suffice. On page 80, Christian and Faithful are discussing Talkative's false profession, and Christian condemns him soundly:

> Paul calleth some men, yea, and those great Talkers too, sounding Brass and Tinckling Cymbals . . . Things without life, giving sound . . .Though their sound by their talk, be as if it were the Tongue, or voice of an Angel.

The note refers us again to 1 Corinthians, chapter 13: 1, 2, and 3, and 14: 7, which read:

> Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.
> And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.
> And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.
> And even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?

The scriptural references finish Talkative off completely. Although they do not change the tenor of Christian's attack on the false professor, they emphasize the crucial point: Talkative's rhetoric is "a tale / Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, / Signifying nothing."[15] He is devoid of the principles behind his words, devoid of charity or of any good purpose whatsoever. Bunyan himself says it eloquently enough through Christian, but Paul's words provide an invaluable addendum.

We may now move to the second type of Scriptural reference, those notes which comment upon or interpret what is said in the text. A perfect example is the first Scriptural note in the Progress, which explains Bunyan's purpose in having the man "cloathed with Raggs." The reference is to Isaiah 64:6, which reads, in part, "But we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." Somehow, the image of the man wearing rags seems right even without this clarification; but, once having found the origin of the image, we are able to picture the man by reading the Book not only gaining a burden, but also having the garments of his supposed righteousness torn and rent by forces unfathomable.

Another fine example may be found in the second part of the Progress. As the small group of pilgrims proceeds past the land of the Wicket-gate, Christiana extemporizes a little song about the joys of being a pilgrim. The last line of the song's second stanza is "'Tis better late then never" (193). And opposite this line in the margin is the note "Mat. 20. 6.": "And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle?" This is of course a climactic moment in the story of the man who hires labourers for

his vineyard. The eventual point of the parable is in the sixteenth verse: "So the last shall be first, and the first last."

Bunyan manages two things here. He both turns Christiana's little song into a personal confrontation with the reader - better late than never, so why stand ye idle? - and also confirms the validity of her point by referring us to a parable which emphasizes the Lord's immutable will. If we are chosen, he says, we may eventually be first, be we ever so far behind at the present.

There are myriad instances of this interpretive type of biblical note in both parts of the book. All have the effect of clarifying some unclear point, of expanding our understanding of a point already clear, or of interpreting a scene in a specific way, the way, we must assume, Bunyan wanted it interpreted.

Finally, we must consider several Scriptural references that, when pursued, affect one way or another the verisimilitude of the literal level. There are five such interferences that shall be discussed here, instances where Bunyan has somehow missed the precise significance of a biblical phrase, or where he has included in the story that which should have been left in a note.

The first instance is Bunyan's placing of a phrase from the Bible in Christian's mouth, in an improper situation. On page 11, in answer to Obstinate's insistence that Christian return to the town, he replies that he cannot go back, "because I have laid my hand to the Plow." The reference is to Luke 9: 62, where Jesus says "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." This is fine, except that Obstinate's immediate comprehension of Christian's figure of speech presupposes not only an intimate acquaintance with the Bible, but also a willingness

to accept the analogical value of Christian's allusion, a willingness which it seems doubtful that Obstinate would possess. In other words, Bunyan has put into the text that which properly should have been left in the note alone.

Something similar happens on page 63, where Bunyan makes unusual use of a biblical phrase. As Christian traverses the Valley of the Shadow of Death, he is forced to "betake himself to another weapon called "All-prayer." That the uncertain nature of this weapon renders it incompatible with Christian's good steel sword is clear; worse is its uncertain genesis. Ephesians 6: 18, to which the note directs us, speaks of the virtue of "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints." Ephesians uses "all" as a quantity, not only of prayer but of perseverance and saints. In light of this reference, Bunyan's use of the word as part of the name of Christian's weapon is confusing, and, on the surface, would seem to demonstrate the author's lack of regard for the precise meaning of the Scripture, and its use of "all" as a quantitative measure However, our ability to tease out for ourselves the significance of the weapon's name, and our understanding of Bunyan's intention in so naming it, saves the story from any damage.

Whereas most of Bunyan's Scriptural references aid in interpreting a person, event, or object, on pages 41-42 appears a reference that seems to prohibit interpretation. Before beginning his struggle up the hill (the path up which, not the hill itself, is named Difficulty),[16] Christian pauses to drink from a spring running by. The allegorical potential of this spring is obviously great, for it offers refreshment to weary pilgrims about to encounter difficulties. But seemingly

inhibiting our interpretation of this spring is the reference to Isaiah 49: 10, which speaks simply of the "springs of water" by which the Lord will guide wayward Israelites. Now, Christian is not being guided in any way by this spring: he simply drinks of it. And since the Scripture refers plainly to "springs of water" (the water itself having, it appears, no abnormal powers), we cannot, if we wish to follow the guide provided by this reference, assign any supernatural significance to Christian's draught. Fortunately, our realization that spring's water is probably meant to be taken as a symbol of grace removes the danger that we will be inhibited by this note, which seems to preclude such an interpretation.

There remain to be discussed the two most interesting marginal-note improprieties in the book, one from each part. In Part I (89) Bunyan has slipped into omniscient narration, and is telling of the origins and significance of Vanity Fair. He speaks of the time when

> The Prince of Princes himself, when here, went through this Town . . . it was Beelzebub, the chief Lord of this Fair, that invited him to buy of his Vanities; yea, would have made him Lord of the Fair . . . Beelzebub had him from Street to Street, and shewed him all the Kingdoms of the World in a little time . . .

The Scriptural reference here, not surprisingly, refers us to Matthew and Luke 4, where the devil takes Jesus up to a "high mountain" and tempts him with the world's kingdoms. Bunyan is straining enough at his allegory even by hinting at this story during his description of Vanity Fair, which we are to believe is an actual town in Christian's land. But to refer us to the biblical story in which Jesus is explicitly tempted on a mountain is to sunder the illusion of a town with streets

named "Britain Row, the French Row, the Italian Row," et cetera. Bunyan is mixing allegories here, unfortunately citing one image in support of another, incompatible image. Although this incorporation of the biblical allegory into his own is clever, it is, in terms of literal consistency, infelicitous.[17]

Finally we come to a passage and a reference in which the impious reader would delight, for here Bunyan unintentionally creates an image that is irreverent and comical. At the House Beautiful (221) the pilgrims are lovingly entertained by the residents, who "had prepared for them a Lamb, with the accustomed Sauce belonging thereto." The first gloss directs us to Exodus, where the subject is, naturally and appropriately enough, the Passover lamb. But the second note is to John 1: 29: "The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." We can appreciate Bunyan's wish to juxtapose the Old and New Testament references, and we can understand that by referring to Jesus here he hints at the exculpation of the pilgrims' sins. The only problem is the irresistible urge to picture the Son of God "prepared . . . with the accustomed Sauce belonging thereto." An irreverent urge, certainly; but even if we appreciate that the seventeenth-century mind was far more willing to accept religious emblems that we would consider grotesque, still we must believe that our author could not have realized the full implications of the image he creates here.

Before summing up, there is one last sort of marginal note that should be mentioned. Although I did not see fit to assign it a category of its own, it belongs if anywhere with the first group of all, the group of notes I have termed "directive." In

the Second Part, whenever the pilgrims discourse of Christian and his pilgrimage, or arrive at some landmark of their predecessor's journey, Bunyan inserts a note guiding us to the relevant page in the First Part. This is another example of Bunyan's awareness that he was writing a long and eagerly awaited sequel, and is akin to his previously-discussed reference to "the first part of these Records." He is displaying his newly found self-conscious authorial pose.

About marginal notes, then, we must say that they are on the whole mildly distracting and absolutely indispensable. Although they are not part of the text proper, the reader cannot but be aware of them, and, as has been shown, that very awareness often distracts us from the illusion Bunyan is striving to create. They are indispensable, however, because in most cases they indicate to us Bunyan's precise meaning, which is usually the one essential to a proper understanding of the allegory. And a proper understanding--*the* proper understanding--is clearly what Bunyan wanted to give us. In fact he would hardly dare leave us with any doubts, considering his strict admonition in the Conclusion to Part I:

> . . . *take heed*
> *Of mis-interpreting: for that, instead*
> *Of doing good, will but thy self abuse:*
> *By mis-interpreting evil insues* (164).

We now arrive at the most difficult and involved part of our discussion. In this last section our task is to seek out and evaluate the major disruptions in the literal-allegorical fabric of the book --disruptions created by an imbalance between the two levels, by an intrusion of the figurative level onto literal territory. Only the most conspicuous of the intrusions I have found will be discussed

here. My intention is certainly not to attempt to prove that the book fails because of these implausibilities in the literal level. I wish only to demonstrate that Bunyan was more interested, finally, in conveying meaning than in being artistically consistent, that he occasionally "shows a surprising tendency to throw away his fiction, to turn up his own metaphors."[18]

Of paramount concern is the problematic nature of the journey itself. The journey is a metaphor for the progress of the elect soul to glory; and, with a little consideration, one can appreciate the problems Bunyan faced in employing this metaphor. To show both Christian's rejection of the world, and his travels to the desired country, it is logically necessary to have two physical planes of existence, one of which would be rejected at the outset of the book in favour of the other. To picture forth this transition, however, would be very difficult. Bunyan chooses to solve the problem by blithely ignoring it, and allowing Christian to journey on through the very world he has rejected. What we have, then, is a world which

> is at once, an imitation of the "real" world perceived by the senses, an allegorical expression of a religious system of values, and an allegorical representation of states of consciousness usually perceptible only to the inward eye.[19]

This world of multiple levels obviously strains the allegory from the outset. Christian is picturedfleeing from his family: where does he go? We must satisfy ourselves by imagining a movement from the world of the City of Destruction to that containing the Slough of Dispond, the Wicket-gate, and Doubting Castle. Even the book's title gives us a hint of the spatial problems we will encounter.

The progress is not from point A to point B on a single plane, but "from this world to that which is to come" (emphasis mine). The other-worldliness of the Desired Country is confirmed by Atheist's accurate asseveration that "there is no such place as you Dream of, in all this World" (135). Philip Edwards sums up the awkwardness of the superimposition of the journey of the soul onto that of Christian's body:

> The entangling of Journey A (the universal life-journey) with Journey B (the journey of Christian commitment) obscures the fact that Christian never really left his wife and children . . . Christiana's decision to follow in Christian's footsteps is absurd in terms of Journey A (since following him is inescapable) and awkward in terms of Journey B (since physically he never left).[20]

In defence of Bunyan, it must be said that the reader understands the problem and is quite willing to accept Bunyan's solution. We certainly do not reject the whole book just because of this initial difficulty (which is soon forgotten as Christian's myriad trials begin).

Let us assume then that the literal tale of Christian's (and, later, Christiana's) journey is meant to be believable, or at least consistent, on its own terms. We are prepared to accept lions and giants, sloughs and valleys, even an Apollyon. But even given these concessions, at times Bunyan simply pushes his images too far. A prime example of this over-extension of believability is the depiction of the Interpreter's house in both parts of the book.

Upon his arrival at this house, Christian is first shown (and has explained to him) a picture of a "very grave person" (29). From this acceptable static emblem he progresses to a series of

dynamic ones, and it is here that the trouble begins. He is shown Passion and Patience, two little boys who sit alone in a room. Passion, given all his "best things," somehow manages to "lavish all away" while Christian watches. Samuel Taylor Coleridge comments that this "is not legitimately imaginable"[21]; in fact Bunyan seems here to disregard any sort of logic in favour of the moral value of the emblem.

The next emblem, of the two men simultaneously feeding and attempting to smother the fire of grace, is not unbelievable, and is in fact quite clever. But most problematic of all is the emblem of the "valiant man" (33). The Interpreter leads Christian into "a pleasant place, where was builded a stately Palace." It would be valid to point out that this stately palace could not very well be contained in one of the house's "Significant Rooms," as all the other emblems have been. But this is not the major problem. It is the action that takes place around this palace that is disturbing. There is a crowd of men (real supplicants, we must wonder, or actors in the Interpreter's employ?) surrounding the palace, out of which only one is brave enough to fight his way through the "Men in Armour" who guard the entrance. Christian sees this man valiantly gain entrance and be received by "certain Persons . . . cloathed all in gold." Although it seems clear that Christian realizes that this is just an emblem--"I think verily I know the meaning of this"--the reader may be less certain. The valiant man seems to believe in the reality of his battle. Is he deceived or a deceiver? If the battle is real, would not Christian simply follow the man through the gauntlet to "Eternal Glory"? And if it is feigned, how must we regard the status of the emblem? Christiana, after all, is also,

much later, shown "the man that cut his way through his Enemies" (199). The status of this image is unclear, and this lack of clarity impairs the integrity of the literal quest.

Nor is Christiana's experience at the House more satisfying. She is led "into a Slaughter-house," and shown a sheep who "without objecting . . . suffereth her Skin to be pulled over her Ears" (202). This grotesque image, shown her "together with the rest of those things that were then so profitable to Christian", must make us question the existence of the Interpreter's house in the literal world of the journey. This is one instance where Bunyan has obviously preferred his message to his medium.

More confusing even than the spatial problems with the Interpreter's house is Bunyan's propensity for including in the world of the pilgrims' journey actual biblical characters, artifacts, and landmarks. By so doing he calls into question, not the objective reality of the pilgrims' world (in which we do not believe in the first place), but its proper situation in time and space, even the time and space of the imagination.

There are, to begin with, five explicitly identified biblical personages scattered through the two books: Demas, Moses, Jesus, Gaius, and Mnason. Most astonishing is the confrontation between Moses and Christ. Faithful relates the story of the man who beat him almost to death for his "secret inclining to Adam the first" (70). This cantankerous old prophet had, it seems, threatened Faithful once before: "'Twas he that came to me when I dwelt securely at home, and that told me, He would burn my house over my head, if I staid there" (71). At their second meeting, Faithful is preserved from death by one that "came by, and bid him forbear . . . I concluded

that he was our Lord."

One would think that Bunyan would perceive the awkwardness of introducing, not simply biblical characters, but ones from such different eras, into the pilgrims' extra-temporal world. Surely having pilgrims interact with a prophet and the Lord is, in this context, a relatively inartistic way of contrasting the old Law with new Mercy.

And almost as disturbing are the three minor characters borrowed from Scripture. Demas, the keeper of the silver-mine at the "Hill Lucre" (106-08), is explicitly identified by Bunyan (through Christian) as the Demas who forsook Paul, and "departed unto Thessalonica" (2 Tim. 4: 10). Christian invents a lineage that traces Demas's ancestry through the traitor Judas to the apostate Gehazi. Although this line of descent is fanciful, it is obvious that Bunyan wants us to see Demas as a biblical figure related to other biblical figures--and, strictly speaking, the integrity of the pilgrims' world is thus called into question.

Similarly puzzling is Bunyan's insistence upon naming two of the pilgrims' hosts in Part II after Gaius, the host "of the whole church" (Romans 16: 23 and 3 John) and Mnason, "an old disciple" who entertained the apostles (Acts 21: 16). Indeed, he not only so names them, but clearly identifies them as the same persons mentioned in Scripture. What this means is that the pilgrims are travelling through a world peopled in part by disciples and apostates of the New Testament--not to speak of Moses. In fact it is clear that Bunyan saw nothing wrong with integrating the fictitious characters of the pilgrimage with actual historical persons.[22] This lack

of concern with temporal verisimilitude extends into his freedom with biblical landmarks and artifacts.

In Part I Christian is misdirected by Worldly-Wiseman to Mount Sinai (19); is shown, in the House Beautiful, the rod of Moses, Gideon's trumpet, the "Jaw-bone with which Sampson did such mighty feats", David's sling, and even the sword which God will use against Satan (54); and examines the pillar of salt which was once Lot's wife (109). Christiana and her entourage, in Part II, are shown even greater wonders by those of the House Beautiful. They see Jacob's Ladder and Abraham's mountain (along with his "Altar, the Wood, the Fire, and the Knife,for they remain to be seen to this very Day" [233]). And Christiana is given a "Golden Anchor" (identified in the marginal reference to Hebrews 6: 19 as the "hope we have as an anchor of the soul").

These landmarks and artifacts borrowed from Scripture emphasize Bunyan's faith in the literal truth of the received Word of God; at the same time, they place the pilgrims firmly on Earth. All these objects (save only the Anchor) existed, according to the Bible, at one time on our planet, and, if they now exist in the pilgrims' land, that land must be ours. Christian, in fact, must have originally lived on the Sinai Peninsula, passed through Syria, and ended up at "Mount Zion," near Jerusalem-- a journey of roughly four hundred kilometres. This is a facetious calculation, of course, and one as fruitless as are the attempts that have been made to trace the geography of Christian's world back to the countryside surrounding Bedford. The point is that, while Bunyan's explicit identification of these biblical landmarks (and characters) may objectify his belief in the Bible's infallibility, it also serves to confound the reader's

attempts to imagine the landscape of the journey. The pilgrims' world cannot be ours: we have no (physical) sloughs of despond or valleys of humiliation. James Turner nicely summarizes the problem:

> Single aspects of the road and the countryside through which it passes are selected as the requirements of the allegory arise, and they often resist combination into a homogeneous space.[23]

As he concludes, it is probably best to consider the world of The Pilgrim's Progress, at the expense of literal believability, "the symbolic landscape of the landless."[24]

In Part I, the Wicket-gate, the Certificate given to Christian, and the River may all be sources of uncertainty to the reader. Consider for example the River. There could be little doubt in the reader's mind, even without the repeated marginal notes explicitly identifying it, that it is the River of Death. This is a common enough image, and a good one. It would seem that Bunyan is not consistent in the use of this image. We see Christian, Hopeful, Christiana, and most of her train literally go through the river, and even Ignorance gets across it by devious means. They do not drown (and thus clearly die) in the river: they climb in and are seen climbing out on the other side, after shedding their "Mortal Garments" in the waters (158). This is as much of a problem as the one mentioned at the beginning of this section: how can all this take place on one physical plane of existence? But there is another side to Bunyan's use of this image, or rather his non-use of it. In the course of the two parts we either witness or are told of the deaths of Vain-confidence (by falling into a pit, 112); Heedless (in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, 243-44); Not-right

(by lightning, 269); several giants, all at the hands of Great-heart; and, most importantly, Faithful (97). None of these crossed the River of Death that Bunyan posits as an actual body of water separating Beulah from the Celestial City. If they cross such a river--a figurative one--it is only after their deaths, in the journey of their souls.

Faithful's death in particular is graphically described. I shall not rehearse, as do many critics, the problem of having Faithful "carried up through the Clouds . . . to the Celestial Gate" after he has been reduced to ashes by the men of Vanity Fair. But it does seem important that he who dies the martyr's death (and thus gets "the better of his fellow," as Evangelist says [87]) is not subject to the same mode of death as the other pilgrims. It seems to me that the way to explain all of this is to suggest that the River represents only natural death, and is to be crossed only when one is explicitly summoned by the King. Since Faithful's "unnatural" death is violent, and since the King is not likely to summon the other reprobates we have mentioned, the River need not receive their mortal garments.

A more interesting problem, and one that can only be explained as a simple oversight on Bunyan's part, is Hopeful's introduction to the life of a pilgrim. As we have seen in his discussion with Formalist and Hypocrisie, Christian attaches great importance to the proper method of entering the Way: that is, through the Wicket-gate. Hopeful, however, a resident of Vanity Fair, joins Christian directly from his home town: he does not go back and enter the gate first. Considering Christian's unqualified condemnation of Ignorance, who "camest not in at the Wicket-gate, that is, at the head of this

way" (124), it is surprising that he (and his literary creator) do not perceive Hopeful's oversight.

Nor do we see Hopeful provided with the assurance of salvation--the certificate--given Christian by the Shining Ones (38). Nonetheless, when both have crossed the fatal River, and stand before the gates of Heaven, they hand "in unto them each man his Certificate, which they had received in the beginning" (161). To point out this carelessness with one of the two pilgrims that we see received into Heaven is not to be petty. Bunyan takes such care to establish the importance of the single valid entrance to the way and the possession of a certificate (for the lack of which poor Ignorance is cast into Hell) that to neglect Hopeful in these particulars is as theologically as it is artistically disruptive of Bunyan's message. Since Hopeful is received, we must infer that he has at some time previous to his arrival at Vanity Fair entered the gate and been given a certificate. It is simply unfortunate that Bunyan did not see fit at least to mention this important fact.

There are a few more interesting instances of Bunyan's occasional overemphasis on the secondary level over the primary, on meaning over story, which blur the division between the literal and allegorical levels. After Christian's victory over Apollyon, for instance, "there came to him an hand with some of the leaves of the Tree of Life" (60). Now, we are certainly not puzzled at the significance of this disembodied member; however, it has no place in the story. We may realize that Bunyan is pointing out the many ways in which God will help him who prays (to victory in battle, to health in its aftermath), but to be so obtrusive about it is not justifiable.

Another slip occurs in Part II, in the description of the medicine

given to Mathew to cure the "Gripes of Conscience" (228-31). Sharrock would have us believe that "the symbolism sinks under the strength of the domestic scene outlined";[25] in fact, what could have been a charming, realistic scene is weakened by Bunyan's pious moralizing. It is bad enough that the medicine is made "ex Carne & Sanguine Christi" ("The Lattine I Borrow", says Bunyan in an excessively humble note) and must be taken "in half a quarter of a Pint of the Tears of Repentance." But the worst attempt to force our interpretation comes when Mathew questions Prudence about medicine:

> Why for the most part Physick should be bitter to our Palats?
> Pru. To shew how unwelcome the word of God and the Effects thereof are to a Carnal Heart.
> Mathew. Why does Physick, if it does good, Purge, and cause that we Vomit?
> Prudence. To shew that the Word when it works effectually, cleanseth the Heart and Mind. For look what the one doth to the Body, the other doth to the Soul.

The last sentence shows Bunyan's awareness that he is not really letting Prudence answer Mathew's questions. Even this awareness does not save the scene, however. Bunyan himself would have to agree that medicine certainly does not taste unpleasant because God's word is unwelcome to a carnal heart. He has been overzealous in constructing what could have been a very good analogy (and one the significance of which readers could work out for themselves) and has produced only a pious digression. Literal and figurative levels should not be mixed in this way.

Help's descriptions of attempts to mend the Slough of Dispond (15-16) provide another illustration of this overflow of significance into the literal way. Although Christian is pictured wallowing about in a real slough, and although he emerges begrimed with real

muck and mire, Help describes the materials that have been used in an effort to fill the slough as "at least, Twenty thousand Cart Loads; yea Millions of wholesom Instructions." This is a sort of confusion between literal and allegorical levels. Bunyan should have been more consistent in his imagery. Twenty thousand cartloads of books, for example, would have been fit landfill for an actual slough called Despond, but Bunyan apparently was unwilling to trust his readers' ability to extrapolate to the degree of significance he wished to convey.

There are many other instances, in both parts of The Pilgrim's Progress, of this sort of confusion between layers, most often obviously intentional, occasionally obviously unwitting. All serve to draw the reader back from the action, to make him stop and, rather than attempt to interpret the action, try to decide whether what he is reading is an intentional intrusion or simply an inexplicable obscurity. It is this sort of disruption that makes the greatest demands of the reader who would accept the allegorical illusion.

We have now considered the four major types of allegorical cruxes in The Pilgrim's Progress: Bunyan's dream-vision, his allegorical naming, his marginal notes, and episodes which function properly on neither level of the allegory. We must now make a final assessment of the quality of the book, given the many apparent problems we have discussed in some detail.

Bunyan's dream-vision, a fine device to use in this sort of allegory, succeeds in Part I despite its several inconsistencies. In fact many of these flaws may be partially excused because of the dream itself. We find ourselves able to forgive the dreamer's intrusions, if only because of the author's demonstrated anxiety

about possible misinterpretation, which he believed would do actual harm. Part II is a different matter, however. Our uncertainty about Bunyan's technique may make us uneasy. We may be tempted to believe that the author is attempting to manipulate us with his several types of narration--for it is demonstrably false to say that he "lacks any critical self-consciousness in relation to the literary methods he employed"[26]--but his purpose is hidden, in my opinion, by the apparent awkwardness in his handling of the dream-vision. That Part II is nevertheless successful depends on the very fact that the dream-vision device is not crucial to the message of the book and its final impact.

The significant names Bunyan assigns to every one of his characters are more useful than not. As has been shown, he usually recognizes the great potential inherent in the names, and uses them to their best advantage. In the few cases where they get momentarily out of hand (Mercie, Honest, Morality), it is not so much that the level of meaning overcomes the literal level as that the two layers of significance are entangled. But we are able to accept the existence of the characters both as types and as real people, and even Bunyan's insistence on nominally emphasizing certain qualities does not unduly limit their functions.

Bunyan's marginal notes distract us from the allegorical illusion only incidentally. From the beginning we understand that they are the author's comments upon his own work. Like Eliot in his notes to The Wasteland, Bunyan with his marginalia attempts to ensure that no crucial point will be missed, or--worse, much worse--misunderstood. That he becomes overzealous in many cases, that he occasionally becomes overly pious, can be forgiven in view of the sheer volume

of various kinds of notes that he employed. And the few notes that do have a deleterious effect upon the illusion can easily be discounted if we consider the small part they play in the total impression created by the book, and because they are of course not part of the allegory proper.

Finally, there are Bunyan's improprieties in the combination of literal and figurative levels. These have the greatest effect on the allegory, for, in many cases, they show a sudden, complete disregard for the integrity of the author's own carefully-contrived illusion. That Bunyan was not able to resist including his own interpretations of the literal story in the text itself is unfortunate, for in a few places our enjoyment of the story and of the challenge of interpretation may be impaired by the author's unwillingness to trust his readers' interpretive faculties.

Having said so much, I believe that both parts of The Pilgrim's Progress must still be considered successful, coherent allegories. Despite their flaws, the power of the metaphor of the "way" carries both Christian and his wife and their companions through their tribulations without losing our interest. I think we are willing to concede that Bunyan has biases that inform his overextensions as well as the story as a whole; and such a concession allows us to appreciate his achievement even as we recognize these flaws. Bunyan advises us to take from his work what is meaningful and ignore the rest--"What of my dross thou findest there, be bold / To throw away, but yet preserve the Gold" (164)--and, when the author himself so candidly acknowledges his faults, it would be picayune to condemn him for them while ignoring the undeniable success of the work as a whole.

Chapter II:

The Holy War and Polysemous Allegory

To attempt an examination of The Holy War using the same techniques we employed in our discussion of The Pilgrim's Progress would be relatively unprofitable, mainly because of the very different form of the two books. Certainly, the essential subject of both works is the attaining of glory by the beleaguered human soul; but at this point the resemblance ends, for Bunyan's metaphor in the later book is as different as his method. The title hides nothing from us: this book is to concern itself with warfare, unlike the earlier one, which treated of wayfaring. And if Bunyan occasionally sacrifices his medium for his message in the Progress, we will find that in The Holy War the message, in all its multiple layers, declares early its primary importance, and never relinquishes that status. As Charles Baird says, "the central metaphor dominates the narrative structure, the character development, and the settings."[1]

Of course, the central metaphor of The Pilgrim's Progress--the journey--dominates that book as well, but it is a gentler sort of rule. Since the journey metaphor is more straightforward, ample space is left for character development and a variety of adventures. The warfare metaphor is less malleable. "As a vehicle for the general course of human existence it suffers from self-consciousness and over-intensity."[2] In a town under siege there can be no long discussions of the goodness of God, no pondering of the message of the Scriptures, unless such dicussion tends to the resolution of the situation at hand. Nor can there be much variety in the experiences of the townspeople: constant conflict is the lot of the characters.

Having chosen once more to write about the trials of the human soul, and having chosen his device--in this case, psychomachia, or the warfare of the soul--Bunyan was faced with several difficult decisions. Foremost must have been the problem of dealing with the three necessary characters--God, Satan, and the individual spirit--in a fictional context. In his spiritual autobiography, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, Bunyan managed to indicate the functions of the Lord and the tempter in his own personal experience; and in The Pilgrim's Progress, as we have seen, he succeeded in depicting the forces of good and evil as personifications of virtues and vices. In The Holy War, however, he needed a different approach.

> . . . she lost her situation and strength; she followed others than Christ, wherefore he suffered her enemies to scale her walls, to break down her battlements; he suffered, as you see here, the great red dragon, and beast with seven heads and ten horns, to get into her vineyard, who made most fearful work both with her and all her friends; her gates also were now either broken down or shut up, so that none could, according to her laws and statutes, enter into her; her charter also, even the Bible itself, was most grossly abused and corrupted, yea, sometimes burned and destroyed almost utterly . . .[3]

This passage, which bears startling resemblance to several passages from The Holy War, is taken from The Holy City, Bunyan's lengthy commentary on twenty-two verses of Revelation, which appeared in 1665, seventeen years before the publication of the work under scrutiny. This portion of the exposition of the lot of the unredeemed Jerusalem could very well serve as a commentary upon the fall of Mansoul in The Holy War. It is likely that when planning this his most ambitious allegory Bunyan recalled his earlier treatise, and recognized the suitability of the figure of a holy city to his plans

for this new project.

In The Holy War the holy city is a "fair and delicate Town, a Corporation, called Mansoul,"[4] which is to represent, as the marginal note tells us, "Man." The book concerns itself with "the Losing and Taking Again" of this town, according to the subtitle. But, while Bunyan wants the trials of Mansoul to represent above all the individual human soul in conflict with Satan and itself, he also presents

> the biblical narrative of the fall and salvation of man together with the history of the church, which merges in the beginning with biblical, in the end with millenial, and throughout with the political history of his own times.[5]

Although this is not to say that Bunyan attempts to maintain throughout the book more than one consistent figurative level, at various times at least three others surface and momentarily lay their claims to the interpretation of the action of the literal level. And it is Bunyan's insistence upon including as many partial layers as he can that makes such critics as Talon, Sharrock, and Tindall finally decide that the work is a failure, if a fascinating one. Talon concludes that "no amount of skill in literary counterpoint could have succeeded or could ever succeed in harmonizing such discordant strains."[6]

We must not be too eager to agree with Talon's rather generalized dismissal, however, without first turning to the book and deciding for ourselves how seriously flawed its fragmentarily polysemous nature renders the main story. Perhaps Thomas Macaulay's assertion that

> the best thing, on the whole, that an allegorist can do, is to present his readers with a succession of analogies, each of which may separately be striking and happy, without looking very nicely to see whether they harmonize with each other[7]

should guide us, or at least encourage a modicum of leniency on our part. Let us not be too quick to judge the book a failure.

First, we shall consider and dismiss two of the subjects dwelt upon in our discussion of The Pilgrim's Progress, for they are of little interest here. Whereas the narrator of the pilgrimage was an important character himself, mainly due to the obtrusive dream-vision device, in The Holy War the narrator is simply omniscient. Although he appears at the beginning as a wanderer, and although he claims on occasion to be an occupant of Mansoul, his consistent omniscience belies his existence as a citizen of the beleaguered town. He knows and reports the words of, and the contents of epistles to and from, both the powers of light and darkness, and is not afraid to tell us his characters' thoughts. His occasional purported residence in the town functions only as a sporadic reminder that the allegory concerns itself in the main with the trials of a single soul-- for what man's soul could Bunyan know so well as his own?

And the marginal notes in this book can generally be passed by without comment as well. Both the Scriptural and non-Scriptural notes are mainly directive and descriptive, and the interpretive ones are unobtrusive and straightforward. Most interesting is that many of the notes--especially the ones reading "Take heed Mansoul" or "Look to it Mansoul"--can be read either as comments on the corporation's sorry state or as exhortations to the reader. The frequent repetition of "1 Pet. 5. 8"--"Be sober, be vigilant; because

your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour"--which reference appears virtually every time Mansoul is menaced in any way, from within or without--serves the same hortatory purpose. Bunyan expects not only his imaginary corporation, but us, his readers, to heed his warnings.

I believe the way to approach our evaluation of Bunyan's allegory in The Holy War is to isolate, as far as that is possible, examples that betray a bias toward one of the four most important allegorical levels which occasionally surface in the work. By so proceeding through the four structures of meaning, we may best decide to what extent each level is necessary to the success of the book, and to what extent each is individually coherent. First we will consider the degree to which the literal story is logical and consistent, and, more importantly, whether it can sustain, or be sustained by, the book's main allegorical level, the psychological one involving the trials of an individual soul. These two levels will of necessity be considered simultaneously, for, as we shall see, it is impossible to separate them. The actions in the story arise from the needs of the allegory, and the two cannot be discussed one apart from the other.

The other three allegorical possibilities will then be examined: the extent to which Mansoul represents mankind (in terms of the biblical fall and redemption), the millenarian theme, and Bunyan's occasional glances at the political situation and current events of his day.

Eventually of course we will have to come to terms with the whole work, this conglomeration of so many partial layers of intended meaning. While individually each may function anywhere between

adequately and extremely well, still the proof must lie in the facility with which Bunyan is able to combine these diverse strands into a work which has been labelled everything from "a magnificent failure"[8] to "England's Puritan epic."[9]

The story, simply, is this. We have a town named Mansoul, which was built by a king called Shaddai "for his own delight" (8). It is a town whose defences are so perfect that no enemy can enter but by consent of the townspeople. Eventually they give this consent to one Diabolus, who enters the town and remodels it to his liking. After some time and many forays, Mansoul is repossessed by the army of Shaddai, led by his son Emanuel, who puts the town,

> through the power of his matchless love, into a far better, and more happy condition than 'twas in before it was taken by Diabolus (29).

He even establishes his residence in the town, and treats the inhabitants with great love and unbounded generosity.

Before long, however, the townspeople are turned from their happy state by a traitor in their midst, who, with various delights, makes them forget Emanuel, who withdraws, offended. They live in fear of his wrath for a time until, prevailed upon by numerous petitions, he returns, takes the town once again, and helps repel one last desperate attack by the army of Diabolus. The town is finally at peace, and is promised great rewards for its continuing fidelity.

Summed up in a précis like this, the story seems both straightforward and believable. In fact, it appears to describe the tribulations of what might be one of any number of towns of the Middle Ages, and, since Bunyan is careful to follow many of the rules of siege warfare, the story is even more plausible.[10] However, this summary

description ignores the chief part of the story, for it is upon the fine points of the work that Bunyan has concentrated, and expects us to concentrate. It is crucial, for example, that Diabolus cannot enter the town until Captain Resistance and Lord Innocency, two of the chief men of Mansoul, are slain; it is crucial that the traitor who first turns the town away from Emanuel after his first coming is named Mr. Carnal Security; and it is certainly of great importance that Diabolus's army is composed in the main of a race of creatures called "Doubters." Of paramount consequence, in other words, is the theological significance of every character, action, and speech in the book, for the story is arranged to suit the meaning, and is unintelligible if deprived of its religious underpinning. It is clearly necessary to consider the story in terms of this primary theological significance. We shall see to what extent the entire book can be explicated in terms of the level of personal religious experience--the conviction of sin, conversion, backsliding, and final assurance of grace--before searching for other meanings which may clarify certain cruxes in the text.

We are first presented with the "famous Town of Mansoul" (8), a corporation which is obviously meant to represent an individual human being. To this figure we are first alerted by the names of the gates of the town: "Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feel-gate" (9). It is early established that Mansoul itself is the body, its walls the flesh. It is not Mansoul as the body, however, but as a residence of (and collective name for) the men of the town, the "powers of the soul," that is important to Bunyan, for it is the virtues and vices of these occupants that will be the focus of the story.

When these powers, or men, are first individually identified, Bunyan's scheme becomes clear. He speaks of "the chief of the Town of Mansoul, such as my Lord Innocent, my Lord Willbewill, my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and Captain Resistance" (14), and we can see that

> the human actors in "The Holy War" are parts of men--special virtues, special vices: allegories in fact as well as in name[11]
>
> [they] represent specific aspects of the theme and confine themselves accordingly.[12]

That is, as is later confirmed, each member of the huge cast of this work is little more than a personification of the specific quality for which he is named, or, as is the case with Willbewill, a functionary whose motions conform to those of the power of the soul he is meant to represent. Unlike, for example, Faithful or Hopeful in The Pilgrim's Progress, these characters are simply unable to do more than exemplify their nominal qualities.

Now, this is not a problem except when Bunyan tries to figure them forth as real men (tiny ones, we must assume). Thus we should be disturbed when we are told that Captain Conviction is wounded thrice in the mouth (81), or that Mr. Rashhead, a Diabolonian, "had his brains beaten out" (61). The clash between Mansoul as the body and the men within as but thoughts, and this sort of attribution of physical reality and the capacity for violent action to the men, produces confusion. "The bloodshed is, of course, allegorical . . . but the violence will not entirely vanish into rhetorical smoke. Allegory has a surface as well as a significance, and that surface is the primary experience of the reader."[13] In other words, although we understand the significance of the specific wounds given and received,

still such specificity in the depiction of characters who, Bunyan explicitly wants us to believe, are powers of the soul, is both out of place and modestly detrimental to the overall effect.

The introduction of Diabolus, and the relation of his initial deception, is similarly awkward. Bunyan gives us an account of the "Original of this Diabolus" (9), and then quickly proceeds to show us how he tempts the town--or, rather, the citizens of the town. The trouble is this:

> The creation and fall of the angels have been described directly without allegory; then when Diabolus presents himself before Mansoul there is a clumsy attempt to combine the Biblical story of the tree of knowledge with the siege metaphor.[14]

A clumsy attempt indeed. It is not that to use the symbol of the eating of the forbidden fruit injures the psychological level of meaning, for it is as good a metaphor as any for the fall of an individual human soul. The clumsiness lies in Bunyan's attempt to juxtapose the actual tree with the powers of the soul. He wants to emphasize that all the thoughts and desires of the soul consent to their perversion, so he tells us that "the Towns-folk . . . took and did eat thereof" (16). Notice that it is not the town, the human body (which alone is capable of actually eating the fruit), but rather all the citizens of the town, the personified thoughts and wishes of the human soul, that partake of the interdicted morsels.

Bunyan has a similar problem with his synechdochic description later in the book. Emanuel has conquered Diabolus for the first time, and for this he is worshipped by Mansoul (or its representatives):

> the whole Town of Mansoul came out as one man to the Prince in the Camp to thank him . . .

> this they did in most humble manner, bowing themselves seven times to the ground before him . . . so the Town came nigh and touched with the hand the top of his Golden Scepter (111)

Bunyan seems to recognize his difficulty here, and tries to evade it. It is hard to know whether "as one man" is being used in its common meaning of "all together" or whether Bunyan is cleverly uniting all the powers of the soul as Mansoul; but, since he says they "came out", he must be speaking of the individual citizens. They bow to him, and then "the Town came nigh and touched with the hand" Emanuel's scepter. We (and, apparently, Bunyan) are confused again. Is "the Town" another example of synecdoche, or is it Mansoul (the human organism) who now approaches Emanuel? Bunyan nicely avoids explaining by referring vaguely to "the hand", rather than "their hands," but this cannot save him, for, after "the Town" and Emanuel have finished their conference,

> Then did the men of Mansoul give a shout, and returned unto their houses in peace; they also told to their kindred and friends the good that Emanuel had promised to Mansoul (113).

It would seem that Bunyan has chosen to ignore the confusion he is causing. He has told us that the "whole Town" came out to gratulate with Emanuel; now he says they return home (which confirms that it was the citizens, not the town itself, who attended the conference) and tell their kindred and friends the good news. This rash of poorly-disguised inconsistencies (commencing with the temptation scene described above) is more amusing than harmful to our perception of Bunyan's message. We clearly remain on the personal level of the allegory. However apparently clumsy is Bunyan's handling of this last episode, still it is necessary that we recognize that

it is the various powers of the soul who submit to Emanuel's rule.

At two points in the book Bunyan employs an image which we may interpret only in terms of the psychological allegory. When Diabolus first takes possession of Mansoul, he commands the destruction of

> an image of the blessed King Shaddai, this image was so exactly ingraven (and it was ingraven in gold) that it did the most resemble Shaddai himself of any thing that then was extant in the world (24).

Then later, after Emanuel has wrested the town from the giant's vile captivity, he orders

> that the image of Shaddai his Father should be set up again, with his own, upon the Castle gates. And that it should be more fairly drawn than ever . . . in the best of Gold (118).

What are we to make of this in light of Exodus 20: 4: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above"? Bunyan again provides the key to our interpretation. His marginal note to the second passage cited above directs us to Revelation 22: 4: "And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads." No matter that the image is to be set up on the castle ("The heart", p. 8, gloss): Bunyan's meaning is clear. He wants us to realize that the redeemed sinner must have God's image in his mind and heart.

And doubtless Bunyan emphasizes that the image is graven in gold in order to keep our attention on the figurative level of the story. Just as the death of Ignorance in the Progress forces us to stand back and realize that Bunyan is not simply exhibiting heartlessness by executing a poor muddled character, that he is condemning a vice

and not a person, so this reference to something which goes completely against the Scriptures reminds the reader of the author's meaning, and rather confirms than denies Holy Writ.

A similar instance of this sort of distancing occurs twice more in The Holy War. After the liberated town of Mansoul has tried (rather summarily) the chief Diabolonians who were captured at the time of Emanuel's victory, their prince commands that the townsmen themselves carry out the execution: "So they crucified the Diabolonians that had been a plague, a grief, and an offence to the Town of Mansoul" (135). And later, during Diabolus's next attack upon the town, both Lord Willbewill and Mr. Mind so serve several young Diabolonians who have been caught performing immoral mischief. First Willbewill

> raised a very high Cross just in the face of the army of Diabolus, and of his army, and there he hanged the young Villains (196),

and then Mr. Mind took his two "to the self-same place . . . and there he hanged them" (197).

Sharrock considers that such crucifixion represents "an unbridgeable emotional gap between the idea and the similitude," and suggests that Bunyan's adaptation of Paul's exhortation at Galatians 5: 24 about crucifying "the flesh with the affections and lusts" is "a token of his naïvete, not his ferocity."[15]

Naïvete? Far from it. Bunyan goes so far as to call this crucifixion a "Christian act" (196) (although most readers would probably rather agree with the Doubter who solemnly opines that "hanging is but a bad business" [235]). His purpose is to remind us of the proper way of interpreting the events of the story. Just as Paul's instruction is figurative, so are we to perceive Mansoul's

action. By emphasizing the Christian goodness of this action, Bunyan makes quite clear his point that "sins must be publicly renounced, that the Christian must be seen to mortify the flesh."[16]

Considered as a whole, the story of The Holy War is very well supported by the psychological allegory that we have been discussing. In fact, the spiritual ups and downs of Mansoul correspond quite closely to Bunyan's own experience, to the vacillations of his own soul, as narrated in his spiritual autobiography Grace Abounding.

Probably the best indication of the way in which we are to perceive the work is provided by Bunyan's choice of names and (thus) functions for his myriad characters. With a few exceptions, Bunyan manages to portray all the powers of the soul in their proper capacities. Two of his best psychological characterizations are those of the personified will and conscience.

Lord Willbewill is one of Bunyan's featured players. He is loyal to Shaddai at first when he knows no better, but when Diabolus occupies the town,

> he scorns now to be a slave in Mansoul; and therefore resolves to bear Office under Diabolus, that he might (such an one as he was) be a petty Ruler and Governor in Mansoul (21).

For his treason, he is made "Captain of the Castle, Governour of the Wall, and keeper of the Gates." But so wilful is he that he cannot long be loyal even to this new, more "liberal" master. When the armies of Shaddai besiege the town, he begins to have second thoughts. Bunyan brilliantly understates his reaction to the abuse of old Prejudice and Captain Anything: "he did not seem to take one side more than another, only it was perceived that he smiled" (61).

But Willbewill is not quite ready to revert to his original

master, although he is wounded by the slings of Emanuel's army, and is no longer "able to do as he was wont" (82). Soon all of Willbewill's officers and soldiers are killed (89-90), however, and he himself is made a prisoner and finally exalted by Emanuel's pardon. Again he is a servant of Shaddai, by Emanuel's commission this time, and this time he remains true. As Incredulity, the only one of the Diabolonians to escape crucifixion, complains to Diabolus:

> Yea, and Wilbewill, that Rebel, who, one would have thought, should never have turned from us, he is now in as great favour with Emanuel, as ever he was with thee (134).

True, he forgets himself for a time, and is, along with the rest of Mansoul (Mr. Godlyfear only excepted) beguiled by his own grandson, Mr. Carnal Security, and is made "very wanton" (170); but he soon recovers himself and "plays the man" once more. He is instrumental in the attempt to repel the second attack of Diabolus, and he finally proves himself true to the end.

Willbewill is perhaps Bunyan's finest creation in the book, and the one whose actions correspond most closely to his nominal identity. The will is that faculty of mind that governs our actions, logically or otherwise, and Bunyan's personification of the uncertain government of this faculty is magnificent. Willbewill's first state represents the innocent (or ignorant) pursuit of the way of life to which one is accustomed. His radical change of allegiances corresponds to the human being's amazing capacity for rationalization. And his final decision to remain true to his original master represents moral steadfastness, a quality embodied in the will. Even when the other faculties of the mind (reason included) advise differently, a strong will can hold one to the strait path. And Bunyan is careful

always to depict Willbewill as a brave and important officer. Even in his original apostasy he is said to possess "valour and stoutness" (22). What the will sets out to do, Bunyan tells us, it will do.

Mr. Conscience, the original Recorder, is also given a treatment illustrating Bunyan's concern with psychological verisimilitude:

> . . . before the Town was taken, he was a man well read in the Laws of his King, and also a man of courage and faithfulness to speak truth at every occasion (18).

Even after Diabolus possesses himself of Mansoul, Conscience, although "much degenerated," cannot be bent wholly to the devil. He occasionally thinks upon his former master, and makes "the whole Town of Mansoul shake with his voice." Diabolus manages to convince the town's inhabitants that Conscience is but a madman, however, and he is thus little regarded until he speaks authoritatively once again when Mansoul is being menaced by Shaddai's army (54). Abused and imprisoned by the Diabolonians, he is eventually made Subordinate Preacher of Mansoul under Emanuel's rule, and charged to concern himself with "the teaching of Moral Vertues, to Civil and Natural duties" (140). He, like Willbewill, is temporarily diverted by Carnal Security, but, also like Willbewill, primarily remains faithful to Emanuel until the end.

His career corresponds to Bunyan's knowledge of the vacillations of the conscience in the human spirit. Like Willbewill's, his presence and actions strike a chord in the mind of the reader, and alert us to the harmonious combination of story with allegory. Neither level strains to meet the requirements of the other; they mesh in a satisfying manner.

And, for the most part, the same can be said for the rest of the book. In most cases Bunyan is able to combine the literal story with the primary level of signification quite satisfactorily. In fact, any reader familiar with Grace Abounding will recognize the rhythms of Bunyan's spiritual trials even in the fictional guise under which they are here presented.

This is not to say, however, that this major level of meaning can fully account for all of the actions of the story, some of which obviously mean more than they would if we were to confine their significance to the primary level. It will be our goal in the remainder of this chapter to come to terms with the three other strata of meaning which occasionally take precedence over this primary one.

It was a commonplace among the left-wing sectaries of Bunyan's time, Sharrock says, "to treat God's dealings with Israel, and indeed the whole Old Testament narrative, as an analogue of the soul's history."[17] And Bunyan dabbles with this sort of analogical treatment at various points in The Holy War. In fact, the first part of the book--the fall and redemption of Mansoul--can profitably be read as a fictionalization of the Old Testament's account of the fall of man and the New Testament's relation of Christ's mercy in saving mankind. Indeed, several problems are cleared up if we so interpret the story.

For example, this reading will clarify Mansoul's initial state. While to suggest that Mansoul is at first innocent because it simply represents a young human soul that has neither yet been exposed to the wiles and temptations of Satan, nor even realized its own sinfulness, is adequate, the corporation's initial innocence and excellence is better explained by positing it as well to be a figure

standing for both Adam and Eve before the Fall. This will account for the corporation's Houynhnhnm-like state[18]--"They are strangers to lying and desembling lips" (13)--and for the existence of the doomed Lord Innocency.

More importantly, we will be able to make more sense of the temptation and fall of Mansoul, and of Diabolus's disguise:

> . . . so it was determined that the Giant Diabolus should assume the Dragon, for that he was in those days as familiar with the Town of Mansoul as now is the bird with the Boy (13).

Unless we assume Mansoul to be Adam or Eve (or some amalgam of the two), this disguise is meaningless. What Bunyan wants us to respond to is the tempter's ability to appear friendly, familiar, and harmless even as he plots our destruction.

And the explicit symbolic action of the fall, the consumption of the forbidden fruit, makes more sense as well, if we assume Mansoul is initially unfallen. As was earlier mentioned, the consumption of the fruit is an acceptable symbol for the individual temptation and fall of any human soul; but to picture Mansoul's fall as the Fall makes the clumsiness of which Sharrock speaks a little less disturbing.[19]

There is a problem after this, though. If we wish to perceive Emanuel's first coming as corresponding to his redemption of mankind through his death, we will search in vain for his passion as an actual event. He speaks of his sacrifice to Diabolus, and in the past tense:

> So when the time appointed was come, I gave body for body, soul for soul, life for life, blood for blood, and so redeemed my beloved Mansoul (75)

--but it does not occur in the real time of the book, it is a fait accompli. This absence is an indication of the relative inconsistency of the several levels, for, although Bunyan obviously wanted to incorporate both Bible history and the temptation and conversion of the soul in the same episodes, neither level is able to subsist consistently on its own.

Bunyan's Bloodmen are interesting creatures, existing (or at least interpretable) on two allegorical planes at once. We will return later in this chapter to their function in the author's sporadic commentary on England's political state; for now we shall glance at their function as a reminder of the church history to which Bunyan is alluding. It is the names of the captains of the Bloodmen which alert us to their import: Cain, Nimrod, Ishmael, Esau, Saul, Absalom, Judas, and Pope lead the Bloodmen against Mansoul. Judas is the most pertinent character in this list, for it was he who came closest to actually doing what Bunyan says the Bloodmen once did: "they once did force Emanuel out of the Kingdom of Universe" (230). Bunyan's reminder of Judas's treachery is less than subtle:

> Captain Judas was over two bands, to wit, the Bloodmen that will sell a mans life for mony, and those also that will betray their friend with a kiss (229).

The rest of the Bloodmen's captains are described in similar terms, each according to the traits attributed to his namesake in the Bible. Bunyan is here demonstrating the cumulative effects of the hatred of goodness through the ages. Indeed these Bloodmen are a magnificently malicious lot:

> they would presently burn down Mansoul with fire

> . . . they were not so much that Mansoul should be surrenderd, as that Mansoul should be destroyed, and cut off out of the land of the living . . . They must have blood, the blood of Mansoul, else they die (230).

To name the Bloodmen after Biblical malefactors does not injure the verisimilitude of the literal/allegorical correspondence in the same way as did such naming in The Pilgrim's Progress. Here, it serves to recall the real characters in the Bible who had most in common with Bunyan's imaginary Bloodmen and their violent goals. And we recognize that here, unlike in the earlier book, the biblical characters occupy their own level of the allegory, inconsistent as it may be.

There are other indications in the book of Bunyan's attempt to suggest a level of meaning corresponding to church history. These we will discuss in the next section, for their significance spills over into the millenarian level of meaning. Of the level we have just examined, that which illustrates the struggles of general mankind according to the Old and New Testament accounts, we can only say that it is interesting as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough to provide an independent interpretation.

According to Roger Sharrock, the Fifth Monarchy, or millenial, theme which Bunyan introduces into The Holy War, and which "almost amounts to a third level of the allegory," tends to complicate the story and create more than a little confusion.[20] And if we agree with Clement Wyke, who claims that Bunyan "explicitly sought to prevent" any possible multi-level readings of his text, and in fact wished to create an allegory with only one level of meaning,[21] then the introduction of hints at a millenial sub-meaning, even if they do not amount to a third level of significance, is indeed an error.

It is difficult to believe, however, that Bunyan's many indications of a millenial interpretation that can exist concomitant with the other levels of the allegory are not intentional. Wyke opines that "W.Y. Tindall gives up in frustration, unable to press his millenial interpretation to the final point of consistency";[22] Tindall, in fact, manages a very sensible reading of the book, based mainly upon millenial signification, and that it is not finally consistent does not mean that the millenial implications do not exist.[23] Although I do not think, as does Tindall, that to read The Holy War in terms of millenial prophecy is the exclusively correct way, it is undeniable that Bunyan drew upon his millenarian beliefs when writing this book, and it is instructive to consider to what degree Bunyan's hopes of a Fifth Monarchy inform the action of the book.

"The Fifth Monarchists,who were closely affiliated with the Particular Baptists, endeavoured to assist the establishment of the earthly kingdom of Jesus by the destruction of the wicked."[24] Their authority for this sort of behaviour came, they believed, from the Scriptures, and especially from the twentieth and twenty-first chapters of Revelation. Here, according to millenarians, is prophesied the founding of Christ's kingdom on earth, and the rule of the saints, at the Lord's side, for a thousand years. Bunyan's Holy City, his lengthy interpretation of the central text of the Fifth Monarchists' beliefs, reveals what Tindall calls a "mild and sedentary chiliasm."[25] And, as has been mentioned, there is much in The Holy City that Bunyan obviously drew on during the composition of The Holy War, although it is to go too far to say of this allegory that "its object was millenarian."[26] There are, however, many features of millenarian dogma that do find their way into the book.

> . . . the city that he hath the vision of, is to be the end of all types and shadows, and the very perfection of them all.[27]

This is one of Bunyan's descriptions of the excellence of the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, and the sentiment is very similar to that expressed about Mansoul at the beginning of The Holy War: "I may say of it . . . There is not its equal under the whole Heaven" (8). This refers to the magnificence of Man as God's last and best creation, but it serves as well to indicate the existence of millenial undertones in the book, especially in light of Bunyan's prediction of

> how things will be in our gospel-church; she was to decline and lose her glory, she was to be trampled--as she was a city--for a long time under the feet of the unconverted and wicked world. Again, she was after this to be builded and to be put into her former glory.[28]

This of course is to be Mansoul's fate, although it must undergo two tramplings before its final rebuilding. The resemblances to the Holy City do not end here, however. There are several specific points in the book where the application of millenial theory is the best, if not necessarily the only, way to explain the events taking place.

It is hard to believe that Emanuel's treatment of Diabolus after the first victory is not meant to recall the millenial prophecy of Revelation.

> Then Emanuel commanded, and they took Diabolus and bound him fast in chains, the better to reserve him to the Judgement . . .But Diabolus stood up to intreat for himself that Emanuel would not send him into the deep (92).

Compare this with Revelation 20: 1-2:

> And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.
> And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and bound him a thousand years.

As Wyke points out, the correspondences are not exact, nor the interpretation consistent. The thousand years prophesied is not fulfilled here, for, as we have seen, Bunyan wanted this first coming of Christ to represent both the conversion of the soul and Christ's sacrifice for mankind in general. To attempt to force it to correspond perfectly as well to the establishment of the Fifth Monarchy would have done more damage than simply to hint at the Scripture, as he has done. And of course Bunyan's plan for his book necessitated a long illustration of the danger of backsliding, and backsliding would not be possible for the saints, the "Blessed and holy" who "hath part in the first resurrection" (Revelation 20: 6).

In fact, the commencement of Mansoul's backsliding gives Bunyan an opportunity to shift (rather uncomfortably) to a new attempt to describe the establishment of Christ's Kingdom. He begins before the fact, with the withdrawal of the Lord from the carnally-secure town:

> Wherefore what does he but in private manner withdraw himself, first from his Palace, then to the Gate of the Town, and so away from Mansoul he goes, till they should acknowledg their offence, and more earnestly seek his face (154).

Again, compare this with a passage from The Holy City:

> . . . when Jerusalem went into captivity under the King of Babylon, which was a figure of the captivity of our New Testament church under Antichrist, it is said that then the glory of

> God departed from them, and went, by degrees, first out of the temple to the threshold of the house, and from thence with the cherubims of glory, for that time, quite away from the city.[29]

The correspondence is obvious. If we wish to interpret the events in this way, we can say that the rule of the Beast has begun, and that Emanuel's next appearance will signal the true establishment of the Fifth Monarchy. So to say, however, is problematic, for, as Tindall points out, this would mean that Emanuel's first reign must correspond to the institution of the early community of Christians, "but the first kingdom of Emanuel is almost too millenarian in character to represent the primitive church."[30] This level, then, may not be consistent, although it certainly is present.

> Since robes of a chaste and immaculate whiteness were the livery of the Holy City, the ceremonious embellishment of the citizens of Mansoul in garments of this kind, as prescribed by Revelation 19: 8; 7: 13-17 and by the universal concurrence of Fifth Monarchy commentators, confirms the millenarian character of this municipal corporation.[31]

This assertion raises again the problem of the point in the story (if any specific point is intended) at which the millenium is supposed to begin. It is after Emanuel's first victory that the Mansoulians are clothed in white--"So the people were put into white, into fine linnen, white and clean" (146)--and it is at this time also that he gives them instructions about the care and handling of these garments. But after Emanuel's second coming, he lectures them once more, and provides a means for them to keep their robes clean: "I have, as I before did tell thee, provided for thee an open fountain [his blood] to wash thy garments in" (248).

Of the initial bestowal of the robes, Forrest notes that we

are to respond to "the millenarian implication of the allegory."[32] And in fact it would seem that Bunyan wanted us to begin at this time to consider the possibility that Emanuel's first coming represents the establishment of the Fifth Monarchy. In his posthumously-published treatise The House of the Forest of Lebanon, he speaks again of the whiteness of the livery of Christ:

> It is given to his by himself, and on his behalf. That is, that they might with it fight those battles which he shall manage against Antichrist. Hence they are called the armies in Heaven, and are said to follow their Lord "upon white horses clothed in fine linen, white and clean."[33]

So is Mansoul initially arrayed in white (their horses, if any, are not mentioned) and commanded to be diligent against the Beast. In that case, "the decline of Mansoul and the attack by Diabolus are explained by the predicted assault by Gog and Magog."[34] But this too is unsatisfying. According to Revelation 21, immediately after the defeat of Gog and Magog will occur the Last Judgement. How can it be then that, after Emanuel takes up residence in Mansoul once more, he tells the inhabitants that he will not take them into the final kingdom "For yet a little while," until "a few more times are gone over thy head" (247)? And if this is truly the end of his kingdom on earth, why need he make the unrepentant Bloodmen "enter into sufficient bond to answer for what they had done . . . at the great and general Assizes" (234)? These Assizes are glossed as "The day of Judgement", naturally enough, but the time lapse between Emanuel's victory and this judgement is superfluous under the plan of Revelation.

These indications and more (even Emanuel's name, as Tindall points out, is chosen deliberately to suggest the millenarian significance

of his coming)[35] make it obvious that Bunyan intended the reader to respond to the millenial undertones in the book. However, as has been shown, the theme of the Fifth Monarchy can simply not sustain the allegory by itself. Nor should it be expected to. It clarifies some of the episodes in the book and adds richness to the meaning of others, but it was never meant to stand alone.

Nor can the topical level of the allegory alone provide a consistent interpretation of the story's action. In The Holy War, says Sharrock, "there are many glances at current history, but they hardly amount to a distinct level of the allegory."[36] In fact Bunyan is quite fond in his works of adding little touches, some exquisitely subtle and some less so, that amount to scathing criticisms of current events and people, safely executed under the veil of allegory. As we shall see, in Badman he misses no opportunity to comment unfavourably on the social and business manners of men of his time; and in the Progress the Catholic church is twice attacked, in Part I through the Pope's impotent presence in the Valley of the Shadow of Death (65) and in Part II in the guise of the Beast of Revelation, of which Bunyan hopefully says "it is verily believed by some, that this Beast will die of his Wounds" (278).

In The Holy War Bunyan finds occasion to deliver a clever sneer at Catholicism at least thrice, and succeeds as well in passing implicit judgement upon the activities of certain government officials and their policies. Tindall speculates that perhaps "the plot of The Holy War takes its shape from the political sequences of Bunyan's own time."[37] Although he admits this scheme is flawed (and improbable), even to suggest that Bunyan could have patterned his book in such a way seems absurd. We must always remember that it is the spiritual

life of the individual that provides the most satisfying figurative level of the book, and that the undertones of church history, millenarianism, and contemporary politics are just that. But this is not to say that that Bunyan's references to the life around him are not interesting, and important to a complete understanding of The Holy War.

Forrest, Sharrock, and Tindall have all noted the implications of the appointment by Diabolus of one "Mr. Filth" as licenser in the town of Mansoul, the newly debauched Mansoul.[38] Bunyan emphasizes that Diabolus has undertaken to "new-model" Mansoul, a move which "reflects the new-modelling of English towns and cities by Charles II."[39] Charles appointed as licenser a man called Sir Roger L'Estrange, who ordered the seizure of one of Bunyan's own books, probably The Holy City, in 1666,[40] and who was a symbol to Nonconformists of the oppression of the godly by the servants of the Beast. Diabolus's Mr. Filth is responsible for the licensing of all of Mansoul "to do whatsoever their lustful appetites prompted them to do, and that no man was to lett, hinder, or controul them, upon pain of incurring the displeasure of their Prince" (32). Mr. Filth not only suppresses the godly, then, but actively encourages all manner of vice, and censures those who would speak against sin. Bunyan's attack is vicious indeed; as Forrest points out, "Since Filth is selected for the job by Diabolus, the political implication of the allegory here is substantial."[41]

Another oft-noted historical correspondence in Bunyan's text is the similarity between the army of Shaddai and the New Model Army, in which Bunyan served, probably between its inception in April, 1645, and his discharge, in about July of 1647.[42] This was no ordinary army, as Christopher Hill tells us:

> Chaplains in the New Model preached to civilian congregations as well as to soldiers. As time progressed, an increasing number of common soldiers took upon themselves preaching functions. All these preachers had much in common with itinerant mechanic preachers,[43]

of which John Bunyan, of course, was one. His youthful military service is recalled in the description of the conduct of Shaddai's first army of forty thousand men (who represent "the terrors of the Mosaic law"):[44] "they marched through the Regions and Countries of many people, not hurting, or abusing any, but blessing where ever they came" (38). The men of the New Model Army would not have been quite so gentle, of course, for they were, after all, first and foremost fighting men. However, Bunyan's description of Shaddai's forces seems implicitly to recall and commend the conduct of the noble force of his youth.

This noble force may instructively be contrasted with Diabolus's last army, partially composed of Bloodmen. As was mentioned earlier, these bloody men remind us of biblical persecutors and tyrants, but they also represent "oppressors of Nonconformists in Restoration times."[45] After the Doubters have failed to pervert the now steadfast men of Mansoul, these Bloodmen are sent to do violence to the town. Bunyan is quite explicit in his description of these creatures:

> The Bloodmen are a people that have their name derived from the malignity of their nature, and from the fury that is in them to execute it upon the town of Mansoul (228).

Notice that their fury is directed specifically at Mansoul. Thus to specify the object of their spite is to universalize the name of the town (man's soul) and to give Bunyan's condemnation of these hateful beasts more weight. "All those who enforce human laws to

compel our presence at, or support to, any form of worship, are bloodmen";[46] "all are influenced by hatred to Christianity."[47] It is interesting that Bunyan allows his Emanuel to show mercy to those ignorant and superstitious Bloodmen who ask it. Remembering the end of Ignorance in the Progress, we must assume that he was cast out, not simply because of his ignorance, but because he did not sue for mercy.

The best contemporary slander in The Holy War is a threefold, unqualified, extremely clever assault on the Catholic church. The most obvious and vicious of the three instances is Bunyan's description of the spiritual leader of the entire band of Bloodmen:

> Captain Pope was Captain over one band, for all these spirits are joined in one, under him . . . his Scutcheon was the stake, the flame, and the good man in it (229).

The allegory is hardly subtle here, and the reference is made more scathing by the identification, through the marginal note to Revelation 13: 7-8, of the Pope with the Beast, who is given power to overcome the saints. That he fails to do so in Bunyan's story demonstrates the author's certainty that the Catholic church, along with its putative leader the Antichrist, "will die of its wounds."

Another passing slur, again less than subtle when considered in its context, is made in the course of Mr. Profane's discussion with Cerberus at Hellgate-hill. Cerberus, delighted at the return of his old friend, ejaculates "By St. Mary I am glad to see thee" (171). Such an oath spoken by the keeper of the gates of Hell is bound to be noticed, and it "fixes the pagan Cerberus as a Romanist."[48] It serves, in fact, a function similar to the juxtapositioning of the caves of Pope and Pagan in The Pilgrim's Progress. The two,

Bunyan implies in their physical contiguity, are close spiritually as well.

The best satiric disparagement of Papism in The Holy War is marvelously subtle, its implicit meaning carefully calculated. After Emanuel has withdrawn from the society of the Mansoulians, offended by their backsliding, three Diabolonians adopt disguises, the better to be hired by some of the chief men of the town. One of them, Lasciviousness, who has adopted the name of "Harmless-mirth," is not so rapidly employed as are his fellows:

> . . . this fellow Harmless-mirth did hang a little in hand, and could not so soon get him a Master as the other did, because the Town of Mansoul was now in Lent, but after a while because Lent was almost out, the Lord Wilbewill hired Harmless-mirth (168).

At first it seems merely amusing that the will would refrain from lasciviousness (which, perverted as it is, it considers but harmless mirth) only during Lent; but Bunyan means more than this. He carefully says that Willbewill hired this mischievous fellow because Lent was almost over. In other words, Bunyan implies, Lent is not only a foolish attempt at pretended sanctity, but it in fact only postpones (and whets the appetite for) sin until the humanly prescribed time is up. This is a direct hit upon the assumed holiness of those whom Bunyan considered servants of the Beast. "Who can tell", asks George Offor portentously, in a note that could pass for one of Bunyan's own, "the miseries that have followed Easter festivities, after Lenten hypocrisies?"[49]

Though these glances at current events, and slurs of institutions Bunyan considered antichristian, are interesting, we should probably go no further than to consider this sporadic recurrence of significance

a "minor topical allegory."[50] Certainly these occasional references do not disrupt the major allegory, but add to its meaning, and undoubtedly did so more effectively for Bunyan's early readers than they can for us. Even to mention, however, as does Tindall, the book's very plot in connection with these desultory references is to read too much into the text, and to venture too far from it.

Sharrock would have us believe that Bunyan's "attempt at a complex and allusive grandeur" in The Holy War "tends to defeat itself" precisely because it is so complex;[51] Forrest is kinder, concluding that

> the critic's task of describing the allegory is impossible, since he is compelled to articulate a complex imaginative experience that is really inexpressible in terms other than the artist's own.[52]

And Clement Wyke takes the easy (if manifestly incorrect) way out by claiming that the book represents only "Bunyan's objectification of his inner experience."[53] What is the truth of the matter?

I believe that the book can be read satisfactorily as a description of the trials of an individual human soul, to the exclusion of the other strata of meaning. However, we dare not deny the existence of these other levels, as does Wyke, for the Tree of Life, the white garments, and Lent did not somehow slip into the book unnoticed by its meticulous author. Rather he intended these occasional references and correspondences to suggest the universality of the trials of Mansoul, and to serve as an exhortation to vigilance. As we have observed, when Bunyan says "Take heed Mansoul" he is not only addressing his own fictional construct:he is addressing us.

Chapter III:

Badman as Exemplum

The Pilgrim's Progress has found many more supporters than detractors in the three hundred years since its publication, while The Holy War has received mixed notices, with about half of its commentators taking each side. But The Life and Death of Mr. Badman has certainly fared less well than either. Those few critics who defend the book do so timidly, and are sure to call as much attention to what they consider the flaws of the book as to its excellences. However, while Badman is surely inferior to the Progress, I believe it to be more successful, if (or because) less ambitious, than The Holy War. For in Badman Bunyan is at ease with his subject and his method, and he exercises an admirable control over his readers with his subtle and occasionally humorous manipulation of dialogue and details.

It were best to begin by justifying Badman's inclusion in this study of Bunyan's allegorical works. Although it is obviously not an allegory of the Pilgrim's Progress / Holy War mold, it belongs to an important sub-class of allegory: the exemplum. M.H. Abrams includes the exemplum in his discussion of several "special types of allegory." These special types (the others are the fable and the parable) qualify as allegory

> in that they narrate one coherent set of circumstances which signify a second order of correlated meanings . . . An exemplum is a story told as a particular instance of the general theme of a sermon.[1]

While Badman is not a sermon (although some critics would have us believe otherwise), the story of the reprobate fulfills the didactic

function common to exempla. John Steadman provides clear justification for the inclusion of exempla in the discussion of allegorical methods:

> Though the method of the allegory and that of the exemplum are not identical, they may overlap . . . [often] the force of the exemplum depends in part at least on the allegorical intent. In such cases the example and the allegory point to the same abstract and universal Idea.[2]

Bunyan could hardly have written a backwards Pilgrim's Progress (or, as C.S. Lewis called his, Pilgrim's Regress)[3] and hoped to hold his own interest or that of his readers. We follow Christian because we sympathize with his struggles; a character as wholly bad as Badman could excite no such sympathy, nor sustain our interest through a long pilgrimage. Having determined to write "of the life and death of the ungodly, and of their travel from this world to hell,"[4] Bunyan was thus forced to reject the implied metaphor of wayfaring and search for another way to narrate the life-story of a reprobate. The exemplum and the dialogue-form provided an admirable solution. This chapter will attempt to come to terms with Bunyan's use of the exemplum, his command of dialogue, and the way he manipulates his readers through his masterly handling of these two narrative conventions.

The device of having two or more characters tell a story through a dialogue was common enough in Bunyan's time (his most immmediate source was clearly Arthur Dent's The Plaine Mans Path-Way to Heaven);[5] and even Chaucer had used the exemplum, most notably in The Pardoner's Tale. It is Bunyan's facility for making such conventional devices very much his own that must concern us here, and direct our inquiry.

W.Y. Tindall, comparing Badman to the run of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century judgement books (of which Beard's Theatre of

God's Judgements, Reynold's The Triumphs of God's Revenge against the crying and execrable Sinne of Murther, and especially Clark's A Mirrour and Looking-glass for both Saints and Sinners, to which Bunyan explicitly refers seven times in his book, were the most popular), concludes that it "is but another of these popular collections, each of which had found its material in earlier books."[6] While he is correct in noting that Bunyan borrowed several of his judgement-tales from Clark, Tindall ignores the way in which Bunyan worked these stories into the main one, the tale of Badman's progress.

Mark Twain, in his delightful tales "The Story of the Good Little Boy" and "The Story of the Bad Little Boy," pokes fun at the Sunday-school books of his time by describing the lives of a good boy and a bad boy, and showing how they differ from the stories told in these books. Of Jim, the bad boy, he says

> Everything about this boy was curious--everything turned out differently with him from the way it does to the bad Jameses in the books.[7]

And Jacob, the good little boy, "had a noble ambition to be put into a Sunday-school book,"[8]

> but somehow nothing ever went right with this good little boy; nothing ever turned out with him the way it turned out with the good little boys in the books.[9]

Bunyan, with his juxtaposition of Badman's unerringly evil progress (and his luck in avoiding earthly punishment) and the bloody stories of God's judgements of other, less fortunate sinners, anticipates Twain's gentle mockery, although the tone is different and Bunyan's method more subtle. By having Wiseman and Attentive relate story

after story of divine wrath, while at the same time allowing Badman to live out his life relatively free of worldly pain, Bunyan enhances the reality of his tale, and ameliorates the necessarily deleterious effect of his main character's partial existence as a figure, or type, of evil. In fact, it is Bunyan's ability to keep us constantly uncertain, to make us always stop to consider the import of individual episodes and the status of Badman himself, that makes the book work, and this triumphantly artistic command of the exempla-within-exemplum technique is in large part responsible for Badman's success.

Inextricably meshed with the narration are the narrators, Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive, "two rather pompous, and, one may as well confess it, rather prosy old worthies."[10] For all their self-righteousness, however, these two characters manage to come alive under Bunyan's hand, to assume discrete and recognizable personalities of their own. The intercourse between the two is frequently amusing, and intentionally so. Bunyan realized that his work could become dangerously sermon-like if he did not add some humanizing touches, and since Badman could not benefit from a sympathetic characterization, Wiseman and Attentive, our conductors on this journey to the nether realms, have been made beneficiaries of Bunyan's considerable talents.

The relationship between the two, while always civil, becomes at moments tense, for Wiseman delights in pointing out Attentive's banalities, weaknesses of memory, and misapprehensions. At the same time, we feel with Attentive the occasionally soporific power of Wiseman's pious long-windedness, and cannot but applaud every time he begs Wiseman to return to the oft-abandoned subject. In fact, we become ourselves caught up in the discussion, and, once he has made us a part of the work, Bunyan can direct our attention

where he will, and he does so with great skill.

We will concentrate here upon the way Bunyan manipulates his story and characters so as to engage the reader's interest, and on the very different sort of exemplum that forms the backbone of the book. It will be seen that at no point in the story does Bunyan relax his grip on the attention of his audience, or allow it time to form false conclusions. Monica Furlong says that "Mr. Badman is a crisis book in which a popular author is trying to influence public morals";[11] Bunyan, knowing that his word carried considerable weight with his fellow Nonconformists, and that he was respected even outside that group, would naturally put forth his best effort in such a cause. And here his best effort is good indeed.

The very fact that Bunyan chose to write this book in a manner that would be entertaining as well as instructive to his readers, and that he would call our attention to it in his preface--"I have put it into the form of a dialogue, that I might with more ease to myself, and pleasure to the reader, perform this work" (590)--alerts us to a concern with artfulness, a concern that does not inform the majority of Bunyan's pious exercises. Christian Behaviour, for example, one of Bunyan's treatises which was first published in 1663, addresses many of the same moral issues taken up in Badman, but in a plain, direct, humble-author-to-reader manner. The later book preserves the common-folk approach, but is necessarily more carefully contrived.

In the first paragraph of the work, for example, Bunyan establishes the atmosphere by having Wiseman, upon encountering a depressed Attentive, ask in a neighbourly fashion "Have you lost any of your cattle, or what is the matter?" (595). But Attentive, in his strangely

formal reply, turns us immediately away from this homely beginning by giving the reader and Wiseman to understand that he has risen early that he may wander hither and thither mourning "the badness of the times," and by inviting Wiseman to give his opinions on the subject. Wiseman quickly turns the discussion to bad men, and thence to Badman, who, he believes, has "died two deaths at once." Attentive is eager to hear of Badman, and especially (as we soon discover) of his death, and the two sit under a tree to discourse further.

Bunyan in this opening sets the tone for the work. In his juxtaposition of homely dialogue and a familiar situation (two old friends, or at least friendly acquaintances, having time on their hands and worries in their heads, sit down to gossip about someone of whom they do not approve) with the significant names of the characters (not only Wiseman and Attentive, but also Mr. Goodman and Mr. Badman, both of whom are briefly mentioned), Bunyan encourages the reader to accept at least the two speakers both as actual professors and as models, or types, of wise and attentive men.

And we know both the subject of the forthcoming discussion, and, roughly, its conclusion, for that Badman dies and goes to hell has been already decided by Wiseman. Bunyan has even managed to indicate the relative status of the two speakers by allowing the overbearing Wiseman early to begin his objurgation of Attentive. When the latter says he fears worse times will come before better, Wiseman charges him to "Make no conclusions, man," since God (with whose mind, it will become clear, Wiseman feels himself better acquainted than Attentive) can do all things.

Bunyan's next step is to establish the relationship of the two speakers to each other and to the reader. We have seen that

Wiseman considers himself superior to Attentive in knowledge of the things of God; now, in a way which anticipates Sagacity's assurance, four years later in The Pilgrim's Progress Part II, that he was "thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair" of Christiana's pilgrimage, Bunyan has Wiseman, in reply to Attentive, who wonders if he knew Badman very well, declare "I knew him of a child . . . and I made a special observation of him from first to last" (596). This unequivocal declaration of virtual omniscience implies that Wiseman is to be the final authority in the dialogue, conversant as he is both with God's ways and man's.

And Attentive's proper place is here indicated as well. Reproached earlier by Wiseman for his apparent ignorance of the immeasurable redemptive ability of God, Attentive soon reveals his recognition of his status in the conversation. When Wiseman offers to begin his description of Badman's life, Attentive, for the first but certainly not the last time in the book, begs him to "be as brief as you can." He, like the reader, has been teased by the passing mention of Badman's seemingly horrid death--"I desire not," says Wiseman portentously, "to see another such man, while I live, die in such sort as he did"--and he implores Wiseman on our behalf: "Pray therefore let me hear it." It is when Wiseman appears determined first to harangue Attentive (and us) with Badman's complete life story that Attentive petitions for brevity.

Throughout the book the functions that Bunyan indicates at the beginning are adhered to. Wiseman has always the last word, and not infrequently does he upbraid Attentive for verbal or logical indiscretions, or, most pertinently, for being inattentive: "I intimated so much before" (609), "I told you before, but it seems you forgot"

(610), "This I told you then" (624). He tells almost all of the judgement-stories, and it is to him that Attentive turns for Scriptural confirmation of conclusions reached in the dialogue. The bulk of Wiseman's speeches begin with an echo of some part of a question just asked, or a statement just made, by Attentive:

> ATTEN. Why this was a mere cheat.
> WISE. It was a cheat indeed (629);
>
> ATTEN. It is a fearful thing for youth to be trained up in a way of cursing and swearing.
> WISE. Trained up in them! that I cannot say Mr. Badman was . . . (605).

Quite as often, Wiseman professorially commends Attentive for a correct assessment with such words and phrases as "True," "Right," "You say true," "You say right," before taking it upon himself to expound at length. Both of these habits of speech add to our appreciation of Wiseman's character, for in his assumption of the role of teacher and corrector he implicitly commands our attention and forces us to consider him a wise old patriarch, if a mildly cantankerous one.

Attentive, on the other hand, is in the main the "straight man" in the dialogue. He asks questions, tells the occasional story, frequently implores Wiseman (on his behalf and ours) to return from some lengthy digression to the tale at hand, and, most amusingly, finds himself having to come up with appropriate expresions of disgust or wonder whenever Wiseman pauses for breath. Often these interjections border on banality, as Bunyan recognizes and good-humouredly points out:

> ATTEN. Well, this Badman was a sad wretch.
> WISE. Thus you have often said before (637).

As our representative in the conversation, Attentive raises those objections to Wiseman's arguments that the reader probably wishes to raise, and bears on our behalf Wiseman's contumely. Of course, he occasionally gets caught up in the excitement, and takes over the narration, and once in a while asks that Wiseman rather enlarge upon than abridge a pious digression (pp. 603, 611, 645); but much more frequently does he declare his heartfelt wish to "at this time leave this matter, and return again to Mr. Badman" (633). In such a declaration he appears in his capacity as the reader's representative; his occasional assumption of Wiseman's role of pious narrator does not detract from this his most important function. And when he urges Wiseman to aspire to brevity in his relation, and claims that "It pleases me to hear a great deal in a few words" (633), he surely captures our sympathy.

Having glanced at the functions of the narrators, we must now look at the subject of their narration-- at the story of Mr. Badman. Censured by the two from first to last mention, his worldly and especially his post-mortal agony revelled in, this reprobate, this "massy body of sin" (646) can do no right. Sharrock thinks that

> Though Badman is meant to be a general type of the reprobate, Bunyan has, by abandoning allegory, abandoned also the effort to universalize his fable.[12]

But so to say ignores the exemplary value of Badman's life story. Surely Bunyan does not abandon allegory, but merely employs a different form of the mode. And surely we are able to recognize the four possible allegorical-literal relationships in the story without opting exclusively for one throughout. We can picture, most of

the time, Wiseman and Attentive as real old men, speaking of a real acquaintance, for Badman, unlike Christian, does nothing that cannot be literally believed to have occurred in the natural world. As James Froude says, Bunyan "chose to make his story natural, and to confine himself to natural machinery."[13] We can picture if necessary the two speakers as allegorical alter-egos of Bunyan (for Wiseman occasionally relates in the first person an incident that we know to have happened to Bunyan--see pp. 607 and 610), and Badman still as a real man. We may if we wish assume Attentive and Wiseman to be real men telling the story of a typical scoundrel, a figure; or we may go all the way and choose to view all the characters as allegorical constructs. Their names alone, and the clearly didactic tone and intent of the book, are sufficient justification for this last form of perception. Twain's reprobate is named Jim Blake, and is not a figure but an actual bad little boy (whose actions are comically opposed to those of his fictional predecessors); Badman's moral and figurative status, if it was not clear enough from his name alone, is clarified by the momentary juxtapositioning, at the outset of the book, of his name with that of Mr. Goodman. Bunyan leaves us in no doubt that, as their names imply, so they are; and while this does not hinder us from perceiving Badman as a real man (for we must assume that neither his creditors nor his unfortunate wife-to-be were put on their guard by his name), still we should be willing to concede that he must sometimes be considered a figure, if only because few real men, no matter how bad, would have even the time to indulge in the astounding quantity of sins practised by Mr. Badman.

If we agree to take Badman's life story to be an exemplum,

then, a moral tale told in hopes of convincing readers of the possible errors of their ways, our next step should be to evaluate its success in these terms. The exemplum, if it works, should be both logical and convincing of itself, and should as well be to some degree extensive or universal. That is, the reader should both be able to believe in Badman, and to find in the reprobate some aspects of himself. Says Bunyan of Badman in his preface:

> I do trace him in his life, from his childhood to his death; that thou mayest, as in a glass, behold with thine own eyes the steps that take hold of hell; and also discern, while thou are reading of Mr. Badman's death, whether thou thyself art treading in his path thereto (590).

And from his childhood Badman is indeed bad, worse than most children. His godly parents cannot correct him even with the rod "which is appointed by God for parents to use", and Attentive opines that he, like all children but irredeemably so, was "polluted, very much polluted with original corruption" (596). Badman is thus linked to mankind in general--for all humans "come polluted with sin into the world"--and simultaneously set apart as an example of one whom God does not choose to save, whom God simply passes by, who is, in short, a reprobate.[14] This is the kind of simultaneous inclusion and separation that Bunyan demonstrably strives for throughout the work, and it is this that makes Badman an allegory and Badman a figure.

Another excellent instance of this manner of making of Badman both an example and a realistic character is his companionship with the

> three young villains, who here shall be nameless,

> that taught him to add to his sin much of like kind, and he as aptly received their instructions. One of them was chiefly given to uncleanness, another to drunkenness, and the third to purloining, or stealing from his master (608).

In The Pilgrim's Progress, as we have mentioned, Hopeful and Faithful do not accompany Christian only as exponents of their nominal qualities, but as real people as well, for Christian himself has both faith and hope. Similarly, Badman's companions are teachers--they make him "an arch, a chief one in their ways"--as well as experts each at his own vice. Here, however, their individual existence is not as important as their instructive function. Through their efforts Badman is made a participant in, indeed a master of, each of their vices.

Bunyan is being artfully subtle in his implications here, but we may divine his intent. Certainly the episode is totally believable on its own terms. People with similar predilections will congregate together (as Bunyan puts it, quoting an old proverb, "Like to like, quoth the devil to the collier"[Holy War, 26, and Badman, 647]), and one who from boyhood swears, lies, and grows to such a "prodigous height of wickedness" that he dares to sleep or giggle or ogle the girls in church (607) is sure to fall soon into the company of drunken whore-mongering thieves.

But Bunyan means much more than this. His masterly arrangement of the order in which he discusses the three companions allows him to go from very bad to much worse, and finally to hit upon the worst sin of all. He begins by condemning the drunken companion and drunkenness in general, allowing Wiseman to tell a story and cite Scripture against this "swinish vanity." Then, when Attentive asks how Badman

could possibly have afforded this expensive indulgence on apprentice's wages, he can introduce the second companion in an indirect way:

> WISE. His master paid for all. For, as I told you before, as he learned of these three villains to be a beastly drunkard, so he learned of them to pilfer and steal from his master (610).

And when Attentive comments that this is even a worse sin than drunkenness, Wiseman confirms it: "Sins go not alone, but follow one the other as do the links of a chain; he that will be a drunkard, must have money." In other words, drunkenness both leads to, and is coextensive with, thievery. Bunyan is showing us that sins, like their proponents, travel in groups.

But uncleanness does not seem to follow as logically upon theft as theft did upon drunkenness. Perhaps it is for this reason that Attentive cannot remember what Badman's third companion was "addicted to." Wiseman soon reminds him, however, and devotes more time to this sin than he did to either of its predecessors. As well, he re-establishes the links between the three sins in his condemnation of the third young villain: "not but that he was a drunkard and also thievish, but he was most arch in this sin of uncleanness: this roguery was his masterpiece" (611).

This then is what Bunyan has here accomplished. He has shown, on the purely literal level, the way in which evil-doers consort one with another, and thus perpetuate their own special vices; he has sketchily personified three grievous sins; and he has made Badman an emblem not only of generalized wrongdoing but of the archetypal master-sinner. Badman absorbs, Bunyan shows us, only the evil instruction and example of all with whom he deals.

In The Pilgrim's Progress, By-ends and his naughty companions

hold a long discussion at the end of which they conclude that it is indeed lawful to make religion a "stalking-horse to get and enjoy the world" (105), and, more damnably, that "by becoming Religious, [a tradesman] may mend his market, perhaps get a rich wife, or more and far better customers to his shop." Christian and Hopeful roundly condemn this ungodly attitude, and Bunyan allows this condemnation to reach through years and texts into Badman. For our reprobate indeed uses religion abominably. He pretends reformation that he may wheedle money from his father (616); he pretends conversion in order to beguile a rich maid to become his wife (618-20); and he finds it easy enough to mimic the habits of good and sober men when such a charade will increase his custom (626). His conscience, or whatever vestige of a conscience that he might possess, permits him to pursue any scheme, so long as it leads to riches.

In The Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan allows the personified By-ends, Mony-love, Hold-the-world, and Save-all to be the representatives of this worst sort of hypocrisy. In the present work, Badman himself, the wholly evil man, must alone practise these sins for our edification. Because of the different allegorical technique of the book, it is Badman's lot to progress through the sins one-by-one; simply to talk about them as did By-ends and his friends will not do. And yet Bunyan must somehow universalize the import of this bad individual's actions. His manner of doing this is most ingenious, and has apparently been hitherto unnoticed.

As a matter of fact, virtually every critic of the book seems eager to condemn Bunyan's artlessness as exemplified in what they consider the unconnected digressions in the work. Thus Sharrock:

> The dialogue framework is clumsily managed: each phase of Badman's life produces a digression, and many of the episodes are inartistically and even inconsistently linked to the main narrative.[15]

So to say is to miss Bunyan's marvelously subtle intent, however. In most of his "digressions" the author is in fact indirectly building up the realism of Badman, is giving him both natural and allegorical substance. Consider for example Badman's treatment of his wife after their marriage. He forbids her attendance at sermons and church-meetings, and when she "did put on more courage than she was wont" (624), and declares her intention to go to worship despite his commands to the contrary, he threatens to turn informer.

There ensues a digression about God's judgements on informers, and horrible is their lot, so horrible indeed that even Wiseman, who obviously delights in narrating tales of doomed sinners, feels obliged to tell Attentive "There can be no pleasure in the telling of such stories." But the crucial point of both the digression and Badman's own threat is the reason he refrains from informing on his wife and her godly companions:

> ATTEN. But do you think Mr. Badman would have been so base?
> WISE. Truly he had malice and enmity enough in his heart to do it, only he was a tradesman; also he knew he must live by his neighbours, and so he had that little wit in his anger, that he refrained himself . . .
> ATTEN. But was he not afraid of the judgements of God that did fly about at that time?
> WISE. He regarded not the judgement or mercy of God, for had he at all done that, he could not have done as he did (625).

The digression gives us examples of the punishments God visits upon informers; the story itself shows us how Badman avoided these

punishments by avoiding the enactment of the sin, by keeping "that little wit in his anger". Thus does Badman serve as a type of the man who is so bad that he will envy another's spiritual goodness, while at the same time illustrating the shrewdness of the atypical individual who is thoughtfully malicious, who dares not wrong others lest he be similarly served. And most pointed is the reason for his prudence. He fears not the dreadful vengeance of God, but only possible harm to his business. His worldliness (and worldly common-sense) is thus emphasized, and the digression serves well to point up the difference between Badman and those less clever, more generalized reprobates of the judgement-books.

Similarly effective (if, admittedly, somewhat numbing) is the book's longest digression, which in Offor's edition occupies fourteen of the work's seventy double-columned pages. This digression, or set of moralistic stories and exempla, concerns what Bunyan considers righteous and unrighteous trading practises. Although it is unarguable that this passage is too long, it nonetheless serves the same purpose as the earlier digressions.

Badman's hypocrisy in dealing with good men is first mentioned, and condemned, and Wiseman takes the opportunity to introduce a discussion of the reprobate's crooked ways of doing business in general. He practises fraudulent bankruptcy, uses false weights and measures, demands payment of accounts twice or thrice over, and, can he but corner the market, drives the price of his goods to ungodly heights, so as quickly to fill his own coffers. Now, we are both prepared and unprepared for this onslaught of invective against Badman's commercial corruptness. We are prepared for it by his course thus far, for we have seen him pass by no opportunity

to commit sins even for the sheer pleasure of them, not to speak of the gains he may make thereby. And we must believe that he would miss no opportunity to increase his wealth (and thus provide the wherewithal to sin further) in his business practises. However, we may find it difficult to accept that he would be quite so successful in his commercial wrongdoings, for surely one with a reputation as ripe as Badman's would simply be avoided by good men or honest traders.

But it is here that we must remember that no depth of evil is too great for Badman, and it is here that we should call to mind his figurative existence. And the lengthy digression, complete with judgement-stories, Scriptural citations, and pious comments on the evils of fraudulent dealings, acts as a reminder of the allegorical intent of this exemplum. Of course any single man would be hard pressed to find the time or the inclination to indulge in the variety of sins in which Badman revels, but that is not to say that there are not those who do, or that all of these sins are not common ones. Wiseman and Attentive's long dialogue on current trading practises and God's probable opinions of them can only be Bunyan's manner of recalling to our minds that Badman is one of a family of bad men. His "brethren" may be specialists in certain fields of sin, but he himself is a knave of all wrongs.

This quality of Badman's--his comprehensiveness in sin--does, it must be admitted, lead to a few problems in the book, although not serious ones. On page 629, the central shortcoming in the scheme is enunciated by Wiseman himself. That worthy is speaking of Badman's fraudulent bankruptcy, and he emphasizes that Badman was fully capable, were he of a different inclination, of satisfying his creditors as he ought:

> But had he done so, he had not done like himself, like Mr. Badman; had he, I say, dealt like an honest man, he had then gone out of Mr. Badman's road.

Badman, says Talon, is "a model scoundrel who becomes more and more wicked in obedience to a determinism as pitiless as Calvin's predestination";[16] and Froude rightly notes that

> Bunyan gives his hero every chance. He submits him from the first to the best influences; he creates opportunities for repentance at every stage of a long career - opportunities which the reprobate nature cannot profit by, yet increases its guilt by neglecting.[17]

We know Badman is a reprobate from the outset. The question then is how he can hold out interest. After all, we see him throughout the book to be an instinctive sinner, deaf both to societal opprobrium and especially to any form of good advice. It is clear that, given any choice whatsoever, this dissolute man will invariably choose the most convenient evil. In comparison with Christian, to whom Bunyan gives the ability to behave variously in various situations, to deviate from his way, to ponder, and make, difficult decisions, Badman must seem a pasteboard villain indeed. He wavers only rarely, and always through fear--fear of losing customers, fear even of damnation, but only when in pain--and the rest of the time runs merrily on his way to hell, or goes or creeps when his sins render him too feeble to run.

What then preserves our interest in his downward progress? It is undeniable that Bunyan plays on the reader's prurience and fascination with morbid details. Attentive, our representative, implicitly demonstrates such an interest. Throughout the book he begs Wiseman to hasten his account of Badman's life that he may

hear of what he believes to be a sensational death, and when Wiseman offers to discuss the sin of uncleanness, Attentive is not backward in revealing his enthusiasm for that subject. Wiseman comments that the evil effects of uncleanness are dreadful, and Attentive says "Pray show me some of them" (611); "What other evil effects attend this sin?" (612); "if you please show me yet some other of the evil effects of this beastly sin" (613). He is forever begging for sensational judgement-stories, and enjoys telling a few of his own. And finally, of course, when, after numerous disappointments, he perceives that Wiseman's story of Badman's life is drawing to a close, he virtually begs Wiseman to relieve his suspense: "Pray, how was he in death?" (659).

It is Bunyan's dramatic sensibilities that keep the story alive for us. The book is peppered with bloody judgement-stories, in addition to modestly racy descriptions of Badman's own sins. And Bunyan is careful not to disappoint us in his ending. Although the entire book has been leading up to one thing alone -- Badman's death-scene, and one that seems to promise to be a horrible one-- and that one thing may appear to be dramatically (if not theologically) anticlimactic, still he follows this apparent anticlimax with the bloodiest suicide story imaginable, the tale of John Cox, who disemboweled himself with a razor (660). No reader could wish for a more graphic description than Bunyan here provides, and, once the blood is washed away and Wiseman and Attentive drive home the devastating spiritual significance of Badman's peaceful death, no reader can leave the book unsatisfied that justice has been done, both artistically and theologically.

As well, it may be argued in Bunyan's favour that not a sin

is missed in the narration of Badman's career. If Badman is to function as a type as well as a man, surely Bunyan must be applauded for the care he has taken to be all-inclusive. Even those sins which are not specifically attributed to Badman are mentioned in passing, and in a way which leaves us with little doubt of the reprobate's guilt. On page 616, Wiseman, concluding the discussion of Badman's "hellish living" during his apprenticeship, says "I think he had a bastard laid to his charge before he came out of his time." Although this would not be out of character for Badman, it is probably not true, for, if such a thing had actually happened, Wiseman, who has shown himself intimately acquainted with every detail of Badman's life, would declare it for a certainty. He means only to damn by implication.

A similar (but more amusing) comment is made on page 628, just before Wiseman launches into his diatribe against Badman's fraudulent bankruptcy. He has told Attentive that Badman had a way to get "hatfuls" of money at a time. Attentive is suspicious:

> ATTEN. Why I trow he was no highwayman, was he?
> WISE. I will be sparing in my speech as to that, though some have muttered as if he could ride out now and then, about nobody but himself knew what, over night, and come home all dirty and weary next morning. But that is not the thing I aim at.

This sort of equivocation (coming as it does from one who would certainly know if Badman was in fact a highwayman, and would not fail to condemn him for it) is more damning to Badman's reputation than a bald assertion of his guilt would be, and Wiseman knows it. At the same time, the passage is very nearly comical. We recognize Wiseman's (or, rather, Bunyan's) wish to attribute to Badman every conceivable sin, and cannot help being amused at this clever implicatory

denunciation.

There remains to be discussed the theological underpinning of Badman, and the extent to which it permeates the book and informs the dialogue and Badman's reported actions. More obviously than either The Pilgrim's Progress or The Holy War does this book depend upon the Bible as its source and inspiration.[18] This is so because in Badman alone among the three is Scripture constantly referred to by name. The value of God's word is personified in the other works; here, Attentive and Wiseman do not disguise their biblical citations. And that the Bible is taken to be the final authority on all matters in Badman is manifest in the reverence in which it is held. Seldom do either of the speakers make an important point but they accompany it with a Scriptural reference, and their very tone of voice demonstrates their implicit trust in God's word:

> I am glad . . . to confirm what you have said by a few hints from the Word (597);
>
> To swear groundedly . . . is tolerated by the Word (602);
>
> I said so, because the Word says so . . . the Word of God is against such ways (609).

This trust echoes through the book, and underlies the entire dialogue. But there are occasions where the explicit reliance on Scripture gets Bunyan into a bit of trouble. In fact, the whole story is arguably rendered less exciting by the speakers' acceptance of the doctrine of election and reprobation. As we have seen, Badman is so dedicated in his pursuit of evil that to hope for reformation is vain; but while it is true that our certainty about Badman's end does not impair our enjoyment of the book, it may be objected that for Wiseman and Attentive constantly to malign the fellow for

actions that are only in accordance with his reprobate nature--since for him to do aught else would be to go "out of Mr. Badman's road"--is superfluous, if not obtuse.

There is more than one answer to this objection. First, simply to say a man is by nature bad does not absolve him of the guilt connected with his bad actions. It is important to realize that in Calvin's theology the reprobate, damned though he has been since before creation, is yet not bad <u>because</u> damned, but still damned <u>because</u> bad:

> God saw the events in the ideal series of possibles as they would come to pass, and in this series, also, man freely sinning. But in decreeing the existence of this series, he did not change the nature of things nor did he make necessary what in itself was contingent.[19]

That is, Badman was created a reprobate in prevenient judgement for the sins God knew he would freely commit. And thus Wiseman and Attentive are quite correct in condemning him. He is not merely a puppet whose master turns him constantly toward evil: he has freedom of choice.

Secondly, and similarly, Wiseman and Attentive may be defended in that they wish more to denounce Badman's sins than the man himself. They wish to call into question not the fact of his reprobation, but his actions, which are a manifestation and justification of his nature. Even should he indulge in good works, he could not of course be saved, "for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified" (Galatians 2: 16). But it is his free choice of bad works that demonstrates and vindicates his reprobation, for although a bad man may on occasion choose to do that which is good, no good man could adhere to such a course as Badman's. And so, while Wiseman

and Attentive would agree with Calvin that "we ought not to aim at more wisdom than becomes us,"[20] and so would not call God's wisdom into question, yet through their invective against Badman they may assert their dissatisfaction with those evil enough to deserve their prenatally-ordained punishment.

And finally, and perhaps both most obviously and crucially, Badman acts, and Wiseman and Attentive speak, as they do because the story of the reprobate's life is an exemplum. Recall Bunyan's expressed wish to hold up Badman's career to us like a looking-glass. His didactic intention is fulfilled by the discussing and decrying (through the agency of Wiseman and Attentive) of each individual sin, and of Badman, the "massy body of sin" who represents bad men in general. It is the refusal of such critics as Sharrock and Talon to accept Badman both as a person and a type that makes them insist that the book is too preachy to be successful, and that persuades Tillyard that it is mostly "very dull reading."[21] They see only the opposition between the pious narrators and the (they think) helplessly evil Badman: they do not see the point of this opposition.

Having thus far defended Bunyan, we must be fair now and admit that there are flaws in his handling of his theology in this book. The most apparent fault is his inconsistency in the discussion of the upbringing and correction of children. At the beginning we learn that Badman is born of godly parents, who endeavour to bring him up properly, but to no avail. For their good intentions, Badman hates them, curses and lies to and steals from them, and indeed wishes for their death, that he may have his liberty more freely to sin.

The problem which surfaces here (and carries over into the

discussion, a little later, of Badman's own children), is that Wiseman and Attentive speak as though by a good upbringing a child could be rescued from damnation, while a bad upbringing is an almost sure ticket to hell. They speak (citing Proverbs 23: 13-14) of "the rod of correction, which is appointed by God for parents to use, that thereby they might keep their children from hell" (597). Now, although it is true that a person's actions indicate his election or reprobation, they do not determine it. It is therefore difficult to understand Bunyan's emphasis on the efficacy of the rod in the prevention of divine wrath.

Similarly, Wiseman speaks of the sort of education Badman did not receive, the sort "by virtue [note the play on the word] of which poor children are trained up in sin, and nursed therein for the devil and hell." Again Bunyan seems to be implying, quite incorrectly in terms of the basic premises of his theology, that man's actions have some bearing upon his (or another's) final destination. This is not Calvinism; on the contrary, it is the religious equivalent of "the tabula rasa of behaviourist assumption."[22] It is upbringing rather than God's will, suggests Bunyan here, that determines our eternal fate.

He does not correct this apparent flaw, but he does return to the difficult subject a little further on. After Badman successfully beguiles the innocent but rich maid to become his wife, they eventually have seven children.[23] There ensues a long discussion about the pros and cons of being raised by pious and impious parents, in the course of which Bunyan bravely grapples with the difficulties he earlier glossed over. And although the implications of his words are clear, he manages to avoid making any explicit statements about

the ultimate relationship between a child's upbringing and his eternal reward.

The dialogue begins with an agreement between the speakers on the subject of God's immutable will:

> WISE. Yea, and poor children, that ever they were sent into the world as the fruit of the loins, and under the government of such a father as Mr. Badman.
> ATTEN. You say right . . . but we must say nothing, because this also is the sovereign will of God.
> WISE. We may not by any means object against God (623).

They express trust in God's wisdom in placing children under the care of such wretches as Badman and his brethren, then proceed to discuss the advantages and disadvantages under which children of godly and ungodly parents prosper or labour. Finally Bunyan makes explicit that which he realizes he can no longer ignore. He emphasizes that even though children may have the fortune to be born of godly parents, we cannot assume that they thus are elect:

> 1. They have not the advantage of election for their father's sakes. 2. They are born as others, the children of wrath, though they come of godly parents. 3. Grace comes not unto them as an inheritance, because they have godly parents (624).

These things premised, however, Bunyan / Wiseman goes on to list six advantages of having godly parents, and, if we did not remember the noble efforts of Badman's own pious progenitors, we would be convinced by Wiseman's implicit belief that good parents are almost always an assurance of salvation.

And the contrary would seem to hold true as well. Although Wiseman does not come out and say, as he did earlier, that ungodly

parents nurse children for the devil and hell, he does believe that "it is a very great judgement of God upon children, to be the offspring of base and ungodly men." And for what, the implication must be, would these children be so judged (and punished) but for their own soon-to-be-deserved reprobation?

It should be noted, incidentally, that this emphasis on the spiritual state of children is not unusual in Bunyan. In Christian Behaviour he enjoins parents to believe "that unless thou be very circumspect in thy behaviour, to and before them, they may perish through thee";[24] although this repeats his behaviourist assumption in Badman, it is more acceptable in the earlier work, which embraces social and moral as well as religious values.

In Badman itself, as we have seen, Bunyan shows what the twentieth century would consider an exaggerated concern with normal childish behaviour. For Attentive, little Badman's lying represents his arrival at "an exceeding pitch of wickedness" (597); and, as was mentioned earlier, his youthful lack of interest in lengthy sermons provokes Attentive's outraged cry, "Why! he was grown to a prodigous height of wickedness" (607).

This apparently over-harsh interpretation of normal childish actions will call to mind Christian's abandonment of his children, and his excuse for so doing. Discoursing with Charity at the House Beautiful, he complains that his "Children were given to the foolish delights of youth: so . . .they left me to wander in this manner alone" (PP, 51). He then goes on to protest, in a paraphrase of the passage from Christian Behaviour quoted above, that he was not to blame, for he tried to carry himself well before them; indeed, he fears he was too good for their feeble understandings, and it

was that which "did hinder them." Charity finally assures him, in an altogether monstrous attempt at consolation, that he was correct in fleeing (which is true, doctrinally speaking), and that he "hast delivered [his] soul from their blood."

While Bunyan's great concern for, and denunciation of, children and their foolish delights may seem to us anywhere from amusing to odious, we must remember that, for those who believed in the doctrine of election, it was never too early to search for signs of inherent good or evil. A child's soul was as important as an adult's, and, given Bunyan's obvious (if not quite explicit) belief that, just as one is trained up, so will one be, it is not difficult to understand, and even admire, his solicitude.

We have imitated Bunyan by only occasionally mentioning, in passing, the climactic episode of the story; but now it is nearly time to discuss the significance, both artistic and theological, of Badman's death. Most important is its artistic significance, and that of the teasing mentions of it that recur through Badman. On our first reading of the book, we cannot guess at the manner of Badman's death. The sort of suspense in which Attentive and we are kept is nicely exemplified by Wiseman's early comment following his tale of the execution of a thief named Tod:

> . . . yet Mr. Badman came not to his end like old Tod; though I fear to as bad, nay worse than was that death of the gallows, though less discerned by spectators; but more of that by and by (600).

The reader cannot help being intrigued by a death which is yet worse than hanging, but less discernible to onlookers. No solid clues are we given at any time, however, and we can only praise Attentive's

valiant attempts to persuade Wiseman to bring his story to a swift conclusion. Bunyan is fully aware of his art, completely alive to the reader's responses and expectations, and he repeatedly teases us. Scarcely two-thirds of the way through the book, Attentive, having patiently listened to and participated in Wiseman's lengthy digression on trading practises, decides to speed the discussion along by any means he can:

> ATTEN. Well, Sir, now I have heard enough of Mr. Badman's naughtiness, pray now proceed to his death.
> WISE. Why, Sir, the sun is not so low, we have yet three hours to night.
> ATTEN. Nay, I am not in any great haste, but I thought you had even now done with his life.
> WISE. Done! no, I have yet much more to say.
> ATTEN. Then he has much more wickedness than I thought.
> WISE. That may be. But let us proceed (642).

These few lines are a fine example of Bunyan's artistry. He perfectly understands his two speakers, and makes us feel every nuance of the relationship between them. First Attentive, with uncharacteristic courage, signifies his impatience with the long tale, and especially (we can imagine) the digressions. He has been eager, since first encountering Wiseman, to hear only of Badman's death, and the verbose old worthy has by this time kept him waiting far too long. Sensing that Attentive may soon wish to leave, Wiseman adopts a pacific tone, returning Attentive's "Sir," and pointing out that it is not yet night. Attentive, realizing he has perhaps seemed rude, amends his position, probably fearing the worst from Wiseman's guess that they have yet three hours. This fear is confirmed when Wiseman, surprised at Attentive's haste, insists he has "much more to say." And we can picture Attentive, defeated, ironically

mumbling his comment about the unsuspected depth of Badman's evil. Wiseman, having resumed his position of authority, and seemingly insensitive to Attentive's impatience, cares not for what his companion "thought." He plunges ever forward with his dictatorial "Let us proceed."

Nor does the excellence of this passage lie only in the opportunity it gives Bunyan further to humanize his narrators. The author shows here his recognition of the reader's probable impatience, and implicitly upbraids him for being unwilling to listen to edifying discussions: "are you weary of this discourse?" (PP, 150), he asks by implication. As well, he takes the opportunity to change the tenor of Wiseman's argument. Hitherto speaking at length of business practises, Wiseman, hoping to recover Attentive's interest, turns to an examination of Badman's pride, atheism, infidelity, and envy. And, of course, he once more disappoints our wish to be told of Badman's death. For that privilege we must wait a little longer.

Finally we come to a point where Attentive can hopefully say "now I perceive we are come up to his death?" and not be put off by Wiseman (655):

> ATTEN. Pray, how was he in death? Was death strong upon him? Or did he die with ease, quietly?
> WISE. As quietly as a lamb.

Artistically it is a bold stroke to build up to what seems an anticlimax. To understand why it works we must remember Bunyan's theological message. As was mentioned earlier, this description of Badman's quiet death is immediately followed by the bloodiest judgement-story imaginable; then Attentive suggests that they "discourse a little more of [Badman's] quiet and still death" (661). The last few pages

of the book Bunyan uses to prove, quietly and Scripturally, that Badman's peaceful death is in fact the worst sort imaginable for such a wicked and unrepentant man. Wiseman and Attentive finally conclude that, although as a general rule one cannot judge a man's destination from the manner of his death, yet for one as "old in years, and old in sin" as Badman to die peacefully can only imply a fiery reward.

But there is a deeper significance than this. Such a death as Badman's, says Wiseman, "is a great judgement of God, both upon the man that dieth in his sins, and also upon his companion that beholdeth him so to die" (664). For by seeing a wicked man die quietly, his sinful companions cannot but conclude that he is bound for Glory, and thus that sin may safely be winked at through life. "And, indeed, this is a deep judgement of God towards ungodly sinners; it is enough to stagger a whole world."

So Bunyan's final position is theologically universal and artistically brilliant. Eschewing the simplest possible way of alerting his readers to God's dreadful judgement--which would have been to visit upon Badman a violent and bloody death--he chooses rather to reason than frighten. And the broad double-stroke of judgement implicit in Badman's quiet death is clearly more effective than any amount of gore could have been. It is the final step in the simultaneous individuation and universalization of Badman that Bunyan has striven for throughout the book, for the reprobate's manner of life and death dooms not only himself, but others similarly disinclined to God's ways.

I believe that The Life and Death of Mr. Badman must be judged a great success. Not only does Bunyan realize his goals by demonstrating

the many ways that a sinner may "take hold of hell"; he does so with great style. The exemplum, which allows him to work simultaneously with a believable character and a type, perfectly suits the subject, and the dialogue / narration is so well handled that the two speakers become "solid men whom we can feel and handle."[25] Once we understand their purpose, even the digressions in the book become at least functionally interesting; and since we cannot fail to be curious about Badman even though we are unable to sympathize with him, the story carries us along in a compelling manner. Far from being "very dull reading," I believe Badman to be a unique and fascinating accomplishment. Bunyan has started with "two popular literary types: the dialogue on moral problems and the story of divine judgements,"[26] and from them created a work that transcends classification.

Conclusion

> Would it not expedite matters if you restricted yourself to categorical statements of fact unencumbered with obstructing accumulations of metaphor and allegory?[1]

This is the question put by a well-educated young clergyman to a rough miner whose speech abounds with Nevada slang, "the richest and most infinitely varied and copious that had ever existed anywhere in the world," in Twain's story of "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral." And it is a question that may fairly be asked of Bunyan. According to George Offor's calculations, thirteen of Bunyan's sixty works are either allegorical, figurative, or symbolical;[2] most of the rest are simply pious tracts and treatises. Why did Bunyan choose to employ figurative or symbolic language in nearly one-quarter of his works, and pure allegory in three of them?

I believe the very fact that, of the four of Bunyan's works that are read at all today, only one, Grace Abounding, is non-allegorical, goes a long way toward answering that question. Many books endure because of their content or message alone, but that a book will be more widely read if it is entertaining is indisputable. Bunyan would have believed, along with his friend and bibliographer Charles Doe, that "God mostly works by second causes",[3] and to be such a "second cause" is a a responsibility that Bunyan would take very seriously. If he could in any manner gain a wider readership, and thus appeal to more wayward souls, he would undoubtedly do so. Although he claims, in the preface to The Pilgrim's Progress, that he "fell suddenly into an Allegory" (1) while attempting to write of other things, we must not conclude that he did not know exactly

what he was doing. As we have seen in all three of his major allegories, even when he falls short of his intentions, it is only because his intentions are perhaps too lofty, not because he did not understand the method he had got "by the end" (PP, 2).

Of the three books we have examined, The Pilgrim's Progress must be considered the most successful, and the best example of a good allegory. Despite a few insoluble problems with the work's literal level, and despite occasional inconsistencies in the significance of the allegory, on the whole the two layers mesh satisfyingly, and individual episodes as well as the entire work are both entertaining and theologically meaningful. The journey metaphor is probably the one best suited to Christian allegory, since it is able to convey "a purposeful moving forward through difficulties left behind to the successful attaining of something desired."[4] And since it allows the author as well some of the freedom of the genre of romance, there is an opportunity (which Bunyan seized) for the inclusion of various exciting adventures, guaranteed to hold the reader's interest while the more important theological point is made.

The psychomachia device of The Holy War, as we have seen, is less well suited to the basic type of significance Bunyan wanted to convey, if only because of its urgent nature. Spiritual warfare admits no surcease of tribulations, and even Mansoul's first redemption (no matter what allegorical interpretation we wish to assign to it) is accompanied by the implicit realization that another fall will soon ensue. On the other hand, through the use of this metaphor Bunyan manages to create at least a partially polysemous structure of meaning, a feat that would have been difficult if not impossible with the metaphor of wayfaring. But it is the impersonal and overly

calculated nature of this book that places it in a position inferior to The Pilgrim's Progress in terms of its excellence as an allegory. It is simply neither as emotionally engaging nor intellectually convincing as the earlier work, although technically it is an ambitious and fascinating production.

Finally, there is the unique Badman. Bunyan's methods in the book have been shown to be clever and subtle, and I believe we must rank this marvelous exemplary tale second only to The Pilgrim's Progress in its emotional and intellectual impact. We sympathize not with Badman but with Attentive, who stands proxy for the reader in the dialogue; and Bunyan's ability to make Badman both a flesh-and-blood sinner and a type of the reprobate through his clever juxtapositioning of the main story with tales of God's judgements gives the book its peculiar attraction. It has been slighted by critics ever since literary quality overtook theological import as the standard by which Bunyan's works were to be judged, but its literary quality has never been properly understood or sufficiently appreciated.

> I also know, a dark Similitude
> Will on the Fancie more it self intrude,
> And will stick faster in the Heart and Head,
> Then things from Similies not borrowed.

So says Bunyan in his preface to the Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress (171). In the three works we have examined, his "dark Similitudes" have taken various forms, each of which has its own benefits and drawbacks. But it seems clear that Bunyan, far from being an unlettered child of Fancy whose great works were simply fortunate accidents, was in fact a meticulous artist who could inspire his works with meaning far beyond what would be expected from outward

show. That works so essentially theological in their import and evangelical in their intention could survive the centuries as have Bunyan's great books is a testament to the universality of the expression the author has given his ideas. The imaginary caviller in the "Author's Apology" to The Pilgrim's Progress who wonders if the "Book will stand, when soundly tried" has by now surely been answered.

Notes

Introduction

[1] John Milton, Il Penseroso, in Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis: Odyssey Press, 1957), p. 75, ll. 117-120.

[2] John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, ed. James Blanton Wharey, rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 6, ll. 14-15. All further references to this book will appear in parentheses in the text.

[3] M.H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms, 4th. edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1981), p. 4.

[4] Dante Alighieri, "The Four Levels of Interpretation," in Literary Criticism of Dante Alighieri, trans. and ed. Robert S. Haller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 113.

[5] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century, quoted in The Pilgrim's Progress: A Casebook, ed. Roger Sharrock (London: Macmillan Press, 1976), p. 52.

[6] Sharrock, Casebook, p. 11.

Chapter I

[1] Edwin Honig, Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1959), p. 98.

[2] "The Scripture declares, that the influence of the Spirit of God upon the soul extends to its sleeping as well as its waking thoughts." William Smith, Smith's Bible Dictionary (New York: Jove Books, 1977), p. 148. Bunyan emphasizes this point in Christiana's and Mercie's dreams in Part II. For biblical justification of this principle, see Genesis 37: 5, 40: 5, 20: 3, 31: 11.

[3] James F. Forrest, "Bunyan's Ignorance and the Flatterer: A Study in the Literary Art of Damnation," Studies in Philology 60, 1 (January 1963), p. 15.

[4] Sharrock, Casebook, p. 16.

[5] James F. Forrest, "Vision, Form, and the Imagination in the Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress (1684)," The Journal of Narrative Techinique 13, 2 (Spring 1983), p. 110.

[6] Forrest, "Vision, Form, and the Imagination," p. 111.

[7] Forrest, "Vision, Form, and the Imagination," p. 111. Forrest is correct in pointing out the significance of Christiana's and Mercie's dreams, but I cannot see that the awkwardness of the beginning can help produce "a solidity and depth in the vision of the pilgrimage that follows" (p. 110).

[8] The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 7th edition, ed. J.B. Sykes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 814.

[9] It is trivial slips like this that prompt Robert Bridges to conclude that Bunyan "neglects the practical side of morals." "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress," The Speaker (April 1905), reprinted in Sharrock's Casebook, p. 111.

[10] --save only, perhaps, her harsh judgement of Simple, Sloth, and Presumption (213-14).

[11] That exception is its application to Christian and Hopeful by Ignorance, who, we must suppose, cannot be expected to know better.

[12] Edgar Allen Poe, source unknown, quoted in Edward A. Bloom, "The Allegorical Principle," ELH 18, 3 (Sept. 1957), p. 187.

[13] See John Bunyan, The Holy War, ed. Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 5, ll. 23-28.

[14] This and all further citations from the Bible are from the Authorized Version, which Bunyan used.

[15] William Shakespeare, Macbeth, in The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, ed. Alfred Harbage (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), V v 26-28. It is interesting to note that earlier in the same play (I vii 18-19) Shakespeare seems to glance at I Corinthians 13: 1 as well. Macbeth says of Duncan "that his virtues / Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued . . ."

[16] ". . . (and the name of the going up the side of the Hill, is called Difficulty). . ." In other words, not the hill but the way up the hill is difficulty incarnate.

[17] On page 23 Bunyan does something similar. Worldly-Wiseman's description of the mother of Legality is accompanied by a note to Galatians 4: 21-27. Verse 24, speaking of Abraham's sons, one by a bond-woman and one by a free-woman, elaborates: "which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants . . ." That Bunyan is here citing an allegory in explanation of his own allegory must give us pause.

[18] Roger Sharrock, "Life and Story in The Pilgrim's Progress," in The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views, ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980), p. 65.

[19] Charles W. Baird, John Bunyan: A Study in Narrative Techinique (London: Kennikat Press, 1977), p. 67.

[20] Philip Edwards, "The Journey in The Pilgrim's Progress," in Newey, p.115.

[21] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Notes on The Pilgrim's Progress," in Literary Remains, vol. 3, ed. Henry Nelson Coleridge (London: William Pickering, 1838), p. 402.

[22] More surprising is Great-heart's commendation of Christian's valour in his fight with Apollyon:

> Verily Christian did here play the Man, and shewed himself as stout, as could, had he been here, even Hercules himself (240).

Great-heart seems actually to be referring to Hercules not as a mythical but as a historical character, whose existence is as certain as that of Demas or Moses.

[23] James Turner, "Bunyan's Sense of Place," in Newey, p. 93.

[24] Turner, in Newey, p. 109.

[25] Sharrock, "Women and Children," in The Pilgrim's Progress (1966), reprinted in Sharrock's Casebook, p. 176.

[26] Sharrock, "Women and Children," in Casebook, p. 176.

Chapter II

[1] Baird, p. 111.

[2] Roger Sharrock, John Bunyan (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 119.

[3] John Bunyan, The Holy City; or, The New Jerusalem, in Bunyan's Works, vol. 3, ed. George Offor (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1858), p. 401.

[4] Bunyan, The Holy War, ed. Sharrock and Forrest, p. 7. All further references to this book will appear in parentheses in the text.

[5] William York Tindall, John Bunyan, Mechanick Preacher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 148.

[6] Henri A. Talon, John Bunyan (Essex: Longman Group, 1956), p. 30.

[7] Thomas Babington Macaulay, review of Southey's edition of The Pilgrim's Progress, in Edinburgh Review (1830); reprinted in Sharrock's Casebook, p. 70.

[8] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 136.

[9] E.M.W. Tillyard, The English Epic and its Background (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966), p. 406.

[10] "If by refusing a summons [to yield during a siege] one appeared to deny the rights of one prince, by obeying it one indubitably injured the right of another. What then was the captain of a beleaguered garrison to do? If he surrendered, he acted treasonably by his former lord, in obeying his capital adversary. If he held out, he might be condemning the men in his charge, not to mention the unfortunate townsfolk, to death." M.H. Keen, The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 124. This is precisely the situation with which Bunyan several times confronts Mansoul.

[11] James Anthony Froude, Bunyan (London: Macmillan, 1880), p. 119.

[12] Baird, p. 86.

[13] Nick Shrimpton, "Bunyan's Military Metaphor," in Newey, p. 205.

[14] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 122.

[15] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 131.

[16] James F. Forrest, ed., The Holy War (Canada: Copp Clark, 1967), p. 153n.

[17] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 122.

[18] Compare Gulliver's description of the marvelous Houynhnhnms: "They have no words in their language to express lying or falsehood"; "Doubting or not believing, are so little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances." Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings, ed. Louis A. Landa (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pp. 190 and 193.

[19] See p. 62 above.

[20] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 125.

[21] Clement H. Wyke, "Distanced Experience and Faded Vision in The Holy War," Humanities Association Review 26 (1975), p. 21.

[22] Wyke, p. 31.

[23] --especially if we recall and agree with Macaulay's observation, quoted on p. 57 above.

[24] Tindall, p. 4.

[25] Tindall, p. 132.

[26] Tindall, p. 144.

[27] Bunyan, The Holy City, p. 420.

[28] The Holy City, p. 405.

[29] The Holy City, p. 405.

[30] Tindall, p. 156.

[31] Tindall, p. 146.

[32] Forrest, ed., The Holy War, p. 166n.

[33] Bunyan, A Discourse of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, in Works vol. 3, p. 527.

[34] Tindall, p. 156.

[35] Tindall, p. 150: "It is clear that to a sectarian of Bunyan's time Emanuel meant Jesus in His capacity of governor of the world."

[36] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 126.

[37] Tindall, p. 156.

[38] Forrest, p. 35n; Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 126; Tindall, p. 150.

[39] Tindall, p. 149.

[40] Tindall, p. 263 note 80.

[41] Forrest, p. 35n.

[42] See John Brown's John Bunyan, revised by Frank Mott Harrison (London: Hulbert Publishing, 1928), pp. 37-51, especially Harrison's addenda at 46-51.

[43] Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution (London: Temple Smith, 1972), p. 47.

[44] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 123.

[45] Forrest, p. 258n.

[46] George Offor, ed., Bunyan's Works, volume 3, p. 361n.

[47] Offor, p. 364n.

[48] Forrest, p. 195n.

[49] Offor, p. 333n.

[50] Forrest, p. xii.

[51] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 128.

[52] Forrest, p. xv.

[53] Wyke, p. 26.

Chapter III

[1] Abrams, Glossary, p. 6.

[2] John Steadman, The Lamb and the Elephant: Ideal Imitation and the Context of Renaissance Allegory (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1974), p. 139.

[3] C.S. Lewis, The Pilgrim's Regress (Grand Rapids: Eerdman Publishing, 1933) is loosely patterned on Bunyan's Progress. Its subtitle, An Allegorical Apology for Christianity, Reason and Romanticism, may hint at its ideological orientation.

[4] John Bunyan, preface to Badman, in Works volume 3. All references to this book will appear in parentheses in the text.

[5] See Tindall, pp. 197-200.

[6] Tindall, pp. 199-200.

[7] Mark Twain, "The Story of the Bad Little Boy," in The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain, ed. Charles Neider (New York: Hanover House, 1957), p. 7.

[8] Twain, "The Story of the Good Little Boy," in Stories, p. 67.

[9] Twain, p. 68.

[10] Bonamy Dobree, "Bunyan's Mr. Badman," in Variety of Ways: Discussions on Six Authors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 40.

[11] Monica Furlong, Puritan's Progress: A Study of John Bunyan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), p. 126.

[12] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 108.

[13] Froude, p. 107.

[14] See John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, volume 2, trans. John Allen (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, n.d.), pp. 232-34, for a discussion of reprobation as a "passing over" of those not favoured by God.

[15] Sharrock, John Bunyan, p. 113.

[16] Talon, p. 28.

[17] Froude, p. 99.

[18] For a discussion of the Bible as the "pretext" of Christian allegory, see Maureen Quilligan, The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 97-98, 122-131.

[19] Gottfried Wilhelm Von Leibniz, "A Vindication of God's Justice," in Monadology and Other Philosophical Essays, trans. Paul Schrecker and Anne Martin Schrecker (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 136.

[20] Calvin, Institutes, volume 2, p. 233.

[21] Tillyard, p. 392.

[22] Robert Ardrey, The Hunting Hypothesis (New York: Bantan Books, 1977), p. 38.

[23] On the subject of conjugal relations between bodies with mismatched souls, compare Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Young Goodman Brown." After Brown's experience in the forest, we are told, he shrinks from his wife's embrace--and yet he is conducted to his grave by many children and grandchildren.

[24] John Bunyan, Christian Behaviour (Swengel, PA.: Reiner Publications, 1967), pp. 29-30.

[25] Froude, p. 95.

[26] Tindall, p. 197.

Conclusion

[1] Twain, p. 73.

[2] Volume 3 of Offor's edition of Bunyan's Works, which contains what the editor calls the "Allegorical, Figurative, and Symbolical" works, includes thirteen pieces of writing (the three great allegories we have discussed among them).

[3] Charles Doe, "The Struggler" [a partial bibliography of Bunyan, and a plea for subscriptions], reprinted in Works volume 3, p. 764.

[4] C.Q. Drummond, "Sequence and Consequence in The Pilgrim's Progress," in The Gadfly (Retford: The Brynmill Press, 1983), p. 9.

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